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AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

SPANISH REVOLUTION,

INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF

RELIGION, MANNERS, AND LITERATURE,

IN

27011

SPAIN;

ac

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP.

BY EDWARD BLAQUIERE, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

" LETTERS FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN," &c.

> " Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."
>
> ECCLESIASTES, *Chap.* 7.

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LONDON:
SHACKELL AND ARROWSMITH, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

TO

JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, Esq. M.P.

Sir!

Forcibly struck by the effect which the insurrection of La Isla was likely to produce on the future destinies of mankind, and convinced that no country in Europe would be more deeply interested in the progress of Spanish reform than our own, I repaired to the Peninsula, soon after the Constitution was proclaimed at Madrid.

Having devoted some months to the collection of such materials, as appeared best calculated to convey a tolerable notion of the late and present state of Spain to my countrymen, I have deferred putting them forth, until public attention should be drawn to the scene of civil and political regeneration, so as to render my statements more acceptable to the general inquirer.

Presuming that the abovementioned period has at length arrived, I am proud of the permission to place your distinguished name at the head of my humble production, and feel no less gratified, by the opportunity thus afforded, of dedicating the fruits of my researches to one, who, whether on the score of political consistency in the Senate, or of wealth and talents in Society, may justly be regarded as representing that portion of the aristocracy, from which the people of England expect so much of their future happiness; since they have hitherto been foremost in advocating the cause of freedom and humanity.

Should the following imperfect sketch of feudal institutions, and modern despotism.

stimulate the meritorious class, to which I allude, in their arduous and glorious career, or add to the stock of their information, the time it has occupied, and the labours of the unskilful artist, will be more than repaid.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very faithful and

devoted humble Servant,

EDWARD BLAQUIERE.

Paris,
July 14, 1822.

PREFACE.

An apology is due to the public, for having delayed my volume on the State of Spain so long after its first announcement. In observing that I fully intended to produce a rapid and limited view of Peninsular affairs, immediately after my return from Madrid; it may also be proper to add, that when several literary friends hinted that the newspapers of Europe, had teemed with so many details, on the subject of my proposed publication, as to afford me but little chance of attracting notice, unless I could present something more solid than that which was served up by the purveyors to the diurnal press; prudence whispered, that I was bound to follow their advice. How far those who counselled delay were right, and whether they would not have acted a still more friendly part, in recommending an indefinite postponement, is for the public to decide.

I can neither forget, nor be ungrateful for, the extreme indulgence shown towards me, ten years ago, by those from whom I could not expect so much courtesy. If the forbearance of some, and approbation of others, arose from a belief that the interests of my country had a greater share in urging me to incur the ordeal of criticism, than the vanity of authorship, it affords me an additional source of consolation.

The tone of impartiality I have adopted now, as on every former occasion, and those modifications of opinion, suggested by a more careful examination of facts, will necessarily expose me to the censure of those, who think consistency in error to be the best criterion of virtue. Invariably actuated by a desire to promote the happiness of the greater number, I had no other course left, than the one I have pursued: satisfied, that the surest, perhaps the only way of diminishing those fatal effects, which the slavery of party and faction have, heretofore, exercised on the liberties of mankind, will be found in observing the strictest impartiality towards all those who divide political society, I have never lost sight of that object in the following pages; though this path neither leads to ministerial patronage, emolument nor place, yet it is that which honour and patriotism dictate.

Let it not be imagined from the sketch I have drawn of these abuses, which ignorance and fanaticism have introduced and perpetuated in the religious system of Spain, that I am the less favourable to toleration in its utmost latitude; or that I conceive the plan of exclusion, which continues to prevail against our Catholic brethren and fellow-citizens, is less injurious to the state, than urgent to those, who are thereby debarred from the enjoyment of their political rights: unable to say all I could wish on this subject, I shall only add, that I recognize no limits to religious tolerance, except those which may be opposed to it by morality and reason.

The day on which Protestant and Catholic shall meet in the same temple, to adore one common Father, will, in my estimation, exhibit the greatest triumph ever obtained by humanity: need I say that this glorious victory can never be achieved while the system of exclusion exists? It is not amongst the least absurd of those anomalies, which I have been called upon to expose, in treating the religious or political affairs of Spain, that while the various sects, into which Christianity is unhappily divided, fervently invoke the protection of Providence, they are, with scarcely a single exception, more or less intolerant towards each other; as if the fundamental maxim of their faith, were a mere watch-word to cover hypocrisy and falsehood. Surely there was more philosophy in Boileau's exclaiming—"*tous les hommes sont fous!*" than most people have imagined.

Where so much has been drawn from the stores of others, it would be unjust not to take this opportunity of acknowledging my debts: if I do not name all my creditors, it is because many were anonymous, and others did not feel ambitious, either from fear or delicacy of figuring in a preface. The frequency of foreign names and places, has rendered the correction of the press a difficult task to those friends who had kindly undertaken that thankless office: where errors appear, it is hoped the reader will be indulgent to that which was altogether unavoidable.

As a preference to single volumes, where the subject relates to politics or religion, is amongst the salutary innovations of the present day, a fear of interfering with this improvement in public taste, has alone prevented me from adding a variety of facts, that would have greatly contributed to illustrate the text. I had even ventured to approach the ground, which has been rendered sacred by the steps of Robertson and Hallam, and prepared an introduction, founded on the most prominent points of Spanish history, ancient and modern. It is, doubtless, fortunate for my literary reputation, that this effort of an inexperienced hand is laid on the shelf: there are, however, some miscellaneous anecdotes and information, which I should have most willingly submitted to my readers.

It will be seen that frequent allusions are made to France, and that I have spoken of the defects in the social institutions. (which must strike the most superficial observer who visits that country,) with the same freedom as I have those of Spain: had it borne an immediate relation to the main object, I could have said infinitely more; as it is, I am sure those celebrated men, with whom I have conversed, relative to the existing state of affairs, and which menace their country with fresh reactions, will not charge me with being actuated by any improper motive.

With respect to passing events in Spain, they are, probably, more full of interest to Europe now, than at any former period: it is impossible any longer to misconceive the real nature of the struggle, or to deny that the people who were slaves, little more than two years ago, are now the advanced guard of civilization. Does it arise from accidental causes, or is it in the order of nature, that those who have suffered most from oppression, are destined to find a compensation, in conferring freedom and happiness on others?

Should the contest which has been already communicated from the Peninsula to Italy and Greece, be conducted with the firmness and wisdom, which have hitherto marked its progress, in the land of Pelagius and Themistocles, it is not within human comprehension to predict or conceive the magnitude and extent of the benefits which such a struggle is capable of producing to society.

It is impossible to name Greece, without adding to the thousand voices which curse the policy that obliges England, not only calmly to witness the extermination of a brave and suffering population, but, oh! shame of our age, and ruin of our glory! co-operate in the work of death.* To complete this scene of national degradation, continental politicians, who dwell on the subject, confound a generous people, with the errors and blindness of their rulers. I will boldly tell those Editors and Publicits of France, Italy and Germany, as I proclaim it to the world, that posterity will acquit the people of England from the foul charge, and that if they knew us better, it would never have been made.

---

* A political prophet of France, and one whose former predictions have been but too often realized, (he foretold the occupation of Paris by the people of Europe,) says that the power which has permitted four millions of Greeks to be given up to the knife of the infidels, and which suffers the Colossus of the north to make such immeasurable strides, will herself share the fate of Babylon and Carthage.

Having spoken of men and manners with that frankness required by the paramount interests of truth, throughout my correspondence; no wonder that I should have been called upon to praise and blame parties and individuals, according to their conduct at different periods; so far from retracting a single word relative to the patriots of 1812, who have lately degenerated into a cabal, a great number of facts, proving that public opinion has not condemned them without cause, are omitted. I trust that their return to the line of honour and duty, may prevent the necessity of producing those additional motives for censure. The same feeling which induced me to speak somewhat lightly of General Morillo, when I saw him prefer a crusade against freedom, to the glory of giving liberty to his country, impels me to notice his recent conduct in terms of unequivocal applause, and by which this distinguished officer has effaced every former impression. The gallantry and resolution displayed by Morillo on the memorable 7th of July, has placed him on a level with the heroes of La Isla, Ballesteros, Mina, Alava, Espinosa, and a few more, who do honor to our age, no less than to our country. It is a fortunate event for Europe, that those men feel they belong to the great family, and that the most trifling victory achieved over oppression or fanaticism, by their exertions, vibrates through every vein of civilized society. Aware of the dignified position in which they are placed, and of the incalculable interests at stake: Aye! convinced that the fate of Europe is in their hands, I feel satisfied the military heroes of Spain and Portugal will realize the hopes of mankind. That in consolidating the fabric of freedom in the Peninsula, they may establish the liberties of other nations, must, therefore, be the anxious wish and ardent prayer of every man, whose breast glows with sentiments of humanity and virtue.

ERRATA.

Preface, p. xv. line 5, *for* Publicits *read* Publicists.
Page 4, line 12, *read* and *for* or.
5, —— 11, *read* La Seu *for* La Seo.
11, —— 4, *read* rostra *for* rostrums.
27, —— 22, *read* du *for* de.
40, —— 9, *read* Catalan *for* Catanian.
42, —— 14, *read* cousin *for* nephew.
54, note, l. 2, *read* plaza *for* placa.
60, line 5, *read* Secretaria *for* segretaria.
61, —— 26, *read* informes *for* informers.
69, note, l. 6, *read* taking *for* taken.
78, line 17, *read* ingenuously *for* ingeniously.
85, —— 21, *read* Secretarias *for* Segretarias.
106, —— 31, *read* O'Donoju *for* O'Donoughue.
129, title *read* Bourbon Kings *for* Ferdinands.
156, line 12, *after* extinct, *read* in value.
182, —— 16, *read* that were made, *for* alluded to by Mr. Simpson.
209, —— 10, *read* Andalusia *for* Alusia.
217, —— 18, *read* Ferrol *for* Ferral.
239, —— 4, *read* Santander *for* Santender.
269, —— 2, *read* Duke San Carlos.
277, —— 29, *read* occurs *for* recurs.
290, —— 31, *read* Having halted his men.
297, —— 1, *read* Arragon *for* Aragon.
311, —— 6, *read* Underwold *for* Underwald.
340, title *read* Ocaña.
342, note *read* Mechoachan *for* Mechoacan.
380, line 7, *read* Gonzales *for* Goncalez.
384, —— 27, *read* judge of the state.
391, —— 4, *read* Damians *for* Dominnus.
454, —— 12, *read* vaya *for* Oa ya.
465, —— 7, *read* Frestas de Soros *for* Frestas Dé Toros.
480, —— 23, *read* Roman *for* Romon.
507, —— 28, *read* Count *for* Gount.
521, —— 16, *read* Gallardo *for* Galliardo.
543, —— 6, *read* Have *for* Gave.
584, note l. 13, *read* Moreno *for* Morenes.
—, —— —, *read* Morales *for* Moralo.
609, —— 29, *read* Santisima *for* Santissima.
615, —— 31, *read* Borbon *for* Bourbon.

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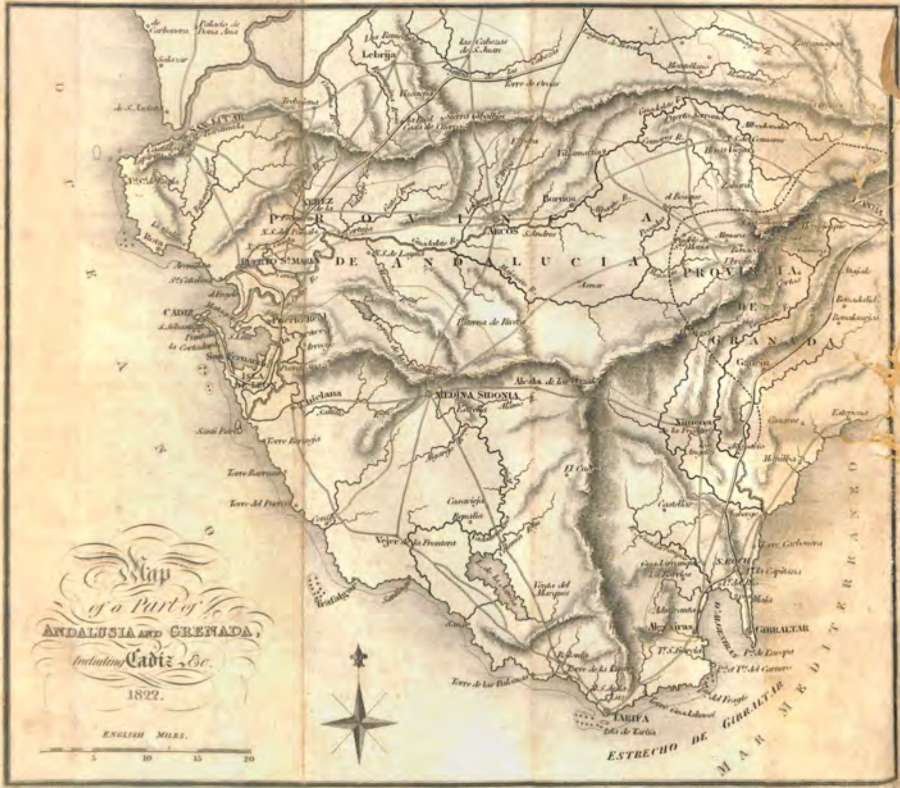

Map of a Part of Andalusia and Grenada, Including Cadiz &c. 1822.

ENGLISH MILES.
5
10
15
20
PROVINCIA DE ANDALUCIA
PROVINCIA DE GRANADA
Lebrija
Las Cabezas de S. Juan
S.N. LUCAR
XEREZ de la Frontera
N.S. del Rosario
ARCOS
Bornos
Villamartin
PUERTO S.T MARIA
CADIZ
Puerto Real
San Fernando
ISLA de LEON
Chiclana
MEDINA SIDONIA
Alcala de los Gazules
Ximena de la Frontera
Vejer de la Frontera
Conil
Trafalgar
Tarifa
Isla de Tarifa
Algeziras
S. ROCH
GIBRALTAR
Pt. de Europa
Castellar
Torre Carbonera
Estepona
Manilva
Gaucin
Casares
ESTRECHO DE GIBRALTAR
MAR MEDITERRANEO
O C E A N O

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LETTERS,

&c.

LETTER I.

Entry into Spain.—Valley of Bastan.—Pamplona.—Ceremony of consecrating the Lapida at Tudela.—Zaragoza.—Its memorable defence.—Arrival at Madrid.—Public opinion there.—Preparatory Juntas.—Preparations for an important Ceremony.—Hall of Cortes described.—Arrival of the President and Deputies.—Entrance of the King and Royal Family.—Their reception.—The Oath.—Rejoicings.

Madrid, July —, 1820.

YOUR conjectures as to the state of popular feeling in this country were quite correct; so that all my anticipations have been fully realized. It would, indeed, be extremely difficult to conceive a more interesting spectacle than that now exhibited in the Spanish capital; where, notwithstanding the period which has elapsed since the Constitution was proclaimed, all classes of the community still seem borne along by that full tide of joy, which marked the first stages of their political regeneration.

Having been an occasional visitor in various parts of the Peninsula, during the days of its dejection and calamity, I came prepared to contrast the past with the present, and accordingly, I had scarcely entered the populous and beautiful valley of Bastan, in crossing the Pyrenees, from Bayonne to Pamplona, when the cheerful aspect and bustling activity visible amongst the peasantry, and in the towns, convinced me that a considerable change had been already produced: even the sombre capital of Navarre seemed to have thrown off its proverbial gloom; and in proportion as I advanced towards the interior, the scene became more gay and animated.

While passing over the fine Moorish bridge on the Ebro, which leads into Tudela, an immense crowd was seen moving slowly under a range of trees that shade the public walk: approaching nearer, I observed a long procession, composed of monks of several orders, bearing the host, numerous banners, and other religious symbols. These were preceded by a train of some hundred females, dressed in white, and veiled: a regiment of infantry marched in the rear. The whole assembly had just consecrated the *lapida*, or constitutional stone, in the great square, and was then taking a circuitous route to the Cathedral, there to complete the work, by singing *Te Deum*. Alighting, with my travelling companion, a native of the city, we joined the procession, and witnessed the remainder of the ceremony.

When high-mass had been concluded, and the multitude reached the space before the edifice, a general *viva* rent the air; this was followed by some bands striking up national airs, and parading the streets in different directions: these were succeeded by private parties, who went about the town, serenading with vocal and instrumental music: the evening terminated in a general illumination.

My approach to Zaragoza naturally awakened all those recollections of wonder and admiration, which its heroic efforts are so well calculated to call forth. The various and intrepid struggles made by this celebrated place, from the remotest periods of Spanish history, down to its memorable defence in 1808, were present to my mind; when I reached the suburb, and perceived that there was not even a parapet to prevent the approach of an enemy, I could not help exclaiming to those around me, "is it possible that this can be the place which stood two regular sieges, repulsed an army of thirty thousand men, in the first instance, and was obliged to submit to a still greater force, only through the effects of famine and disease?"—"Yes," said one of the party, pointing to a height called Torrero, on the right, and then to the left bank of the Ebro; "I, myself, witnessed a combined attack made from those two positions, by the army of Marshal Lefebre, and repelled, after a most sanguinary conflict of ten hours continued fighting; during which, we had not ten thousand regular troops, nor one well constructed battery to oppose a force of more than double that number, fully provided, and prepared for conducting a formal siege!"

Owing to the events which succeeded the King's return in 1814, many parts of the city still present an undistinguishable heap of ruins: a decree of the Supreme Junta, promulgated soon after the first attack, accorded various honours and rewards to the brave defenders, and the town itself was to be exempted from the payment of taxes for ten years; but this, like all the other decrees of the patriotic government, was consigned to oblivion, and Zaragoza has been suffered to feel all the evils arising out of a struggle, that can be compared only to those of Numantia and Saguntum.

Most of the houses in the *Coso*, or main street, are perforated with innumerable bullets, fired by the contending parties: while the Spaniards possessed one side, and their opponents the other, it frequently happened that a party of French and Spanish met and disputed possession of the same house, and on one occasion fifteen hundred of the enemy, who had penetrated far into the coso, were sacrificed in the course of two hours. If any traits could be cited, to mark the national character of Spain, they will be found in the resolution manifested by the females of Zaragoza: not contented with performing all the duties of the soldiery, by serving the cannon, bearing arms, and throwing up works, they forced their children to co-operate in the defence; and, but for those heroic women, little doubt is entertained that the city would have been much more easily reduced. As the people of Zaragoza must be strongly imbued with the love of glory, it is some consolation for them to reflect that, if not enriched by their heroism and constancy, they have acquired imperishable fame; while their defence will serve as a bright example to present times and future generations.

It is scarcely necessary to add that such a population have exulted, with more than ordinary enthusiasm, in the restoration of liberty: I had, during my short stay, abundant occasions to observe this; for, whether I attended the religious ceremonies at the magnificent temples of El Pilar and La Seo, entered the Theatre, or frequented the superb public walks, there was always some object or occurrence to remind me of the recent change. In the Cathedral, a Priest was appointed to explain the articles of the new political code; nearly all the pieces selected for representation on the stage, were either composed to celebrate, or had an immediate analogy to the new order of things; and almost every corner presented a placard, on which *Viva la Constitucion!* was inscribed.

A conspiracy, in which the Bishop and the late Governor were implicated, had just been discovered as I arrived; it was suppressed, without producing any other consequence than affording the troops and inhabitants an opportunity of proving their zeal and moderation in support of freedom.

To form some notion of what bad government and defective laws have done for Spain, it is merely necessary for a traveller to survey the country between Zaragoza and Madrid, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. Although the rude and strongly built vehicles of the country contrive to effect this toilsome journey, there is no regular road, until you arrive within about forty miles of the capital: in other respects, millions of acres uncultivated and unenclosed, of a soil naturally fertile; a most scanty population, and every mark of abject poverty amongst the people, completely embittered my reflections, and destroyed the pleasure I could have otherwise experienced, in traversing the extensive plains and romantic hills of Arragon and Castile.

Although Madrid has always been regarded as one of the dullest capitals in Europe, the people appear to have enjoyed a continued festival during the last month: when the hours of recreation arrive, the Prado, Puerta del Sol, and the numerous streets which branch off from it in every direction, are immediately filled with people of all ranks, ages, and sexes: the usual round of serenades and other musical parties, enliven the scene at night, while some popular play or patriotic chief attracts crowded audiences to the Theatres. Many hundreds, and these of a respectable class, attend at the societies of the Cruz de Malta and Fontana de Oro, where some of the most eloquent men in Spain emulate each other in impressing the value of rational liberty, and the importance of constitutional government on the minds of their countrymen. Here, it is but a common act of justice to add, that of all those whom I have heard speak in the above assemblages of the people, whether priests or lawyers, soldiers or citizens, not one amongst them has ever advocated any doctrine that is not recognized and sanctioned by the new political code. As the most perfect tranquillity has reigned here since my arrival, I have not failed to mix, as much as possible, with the joyous multitude; and, though a mere spectator, it is impossible not to participate in pleasure which has had its origin in a source so pure and sacred.

Such are the auspices under which the preparatory juntas, or meetings of Cortes, were held on the 27th ultimo: since that time, I have witnessed the gratifying ceremony of Ferdinand's appearing before this assembly, to swear the oath prescribed by the 173rd article of the Constitution. As this event forms an important epoch in the history of Spain, if not in that of Europe, you will not perhaps, be displeased to have it shortly described.

It having been ascertained that the party, whose interested motives and criminal ambition are so deeply affected by the late changes, have made great efforts to prevent the King from performing this last act, which has identified him with his people, it became necessary to take such precautions as were requisite to counteract their designs, and for the preservation of order; so that the scene presented a civic as well as a military pageant. The evening of the 8th was given up to that hilarity, to which the people of Spain surrender themselves on all their national festivals; but, from the interests at stake, their gaiety was not unmixed with apprehensions, lest some untoward accident, or evil design, should intervene to obstruct the completion of their hopes: never did I witness the contending passions of joy and anxiety so strongly manifested, as on this occasion; all seemed to regard the ceremony of the following day, as one upon which their future happiness depended. I was exceedingly gratified by the eagerness universally shewn on this subject, and could hardly believe myself amongst a people who had just emerged from so many centuries of oppression.

The morning of the 9th was cloudless, and suited to the occasion; it was ushered in by the ringing of bells, and, at four o'clock, all the churches of Madrid were filled. The streets, through which the procession was to pass, were swept and watered; flags, tapestries, and silk draperies, fringed with gold or silver trimmings, ornamented the houses on each side; the street leading to the Cortes, was strewed with branches of olive, myrtle, and flowers of various hues: the whole population of Madrid, and not less than twenty thousand visitors, who came from the provinces to witness the scene, were in full activity by six o'clock, when the space before the hall of Cortes became crowded to excess. Before the doors, leading to the galleries appropriated to the public, were seen hundreds of well-dressed individuals, and amongst them many officers of rank, who had taken their station there, long before day-light.

When I reached the spot, they were all seated, and exchanging those repartees usual on such occasions. As the crowd increased, they found it necessary to rise; what with the effects of an ardent sun, and the close contact of so many people, several were obliged to withdraw, and give place to their neighbours, who were less susceptible of this suffocating position. It was thus that I contrived to form a part of the impenetrable mass, and I had the additional good fortune of being literally carried up the first flight of steps without making a single exertion of my own. It is needless to say, that the two galleries, though capable of containing fifteen hundred persons, were filled, to overflowing, in a few seconds. As the doors were opened at eight o'clock, I had an opportunity of surveying the interior arrangements of the hall, before any of the deputies arrived.

The hall of Cortes is of an oval form, and decorated with a degree of elegant simplicity, which I was, by no means, prepared to see. As if every thing connected with the present state of Spain was destined to form a striking contrast with its former condition, this edifice was once a church, but fitted up for the Cortes, on their removal from Cadiz to the capital in 1814: it is within a few hundred yards of the Royal Palace, and though an irregular structure, seems peculiarly well adapted for the reception of a popular assembly.

The front is surmounted by a cross, at the base of which there is a group, composed of three figures; Hope supported by the symbol of Christianity, points to Spain, also represented under a female form, at whose feet is seen a torch, the emblem of paternal affection: underneath is a lion grappling a globe, on which both hemispheres are traced; and about the center of the façade there is a large marble slab, with the following inscription, in gilt letters:—THE POWER OF ENACTING LAWS, IS VESTED IN THE CORTES, WITH THE KING. A niche on each side contains statues of Patriotism and Liberty.

The hall is one hundred and fifty feet long, by sixty in breadth. On entering the great door, there is a platform extending twenty feet, and of a rectangular shape: here a barrier is formed by two bronze lions couched on pedestals, and holding a massive gilded bar in their mouths, to be drawn aside only when the Sovereign appears: the Deputies enter by four small doors placed on the sides. On a second platform at the upper extremity, more elevated than the first, a richly embroidered crimson velvet drapery, lined with ermine, and sustained by Cariatides, overhangs a throne or chair of state: opposite to this, and directly over the entrance, is the following inscription:—THE NATION IS ESSENTIALLY SOVEREIGN; CONSEQUENTLY IT POSSESSES THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF MAKING THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS."* A treble range of benches, covered with red damask, accommodate the members; there is a table and chairs for the president and secretaries, below the throne. Two rostrums, in the centre and nearly level with the floor, serve for those who address the chair. Besides the statues of Wisdom and Genius, which occupy niches to the right and left of the throne, there are several square slabs containing bas-reliefs, on which some memorable events, connected with the late war, are sculptured. Others bear the names of Daoiz, Alvarez and Valerde, celebrated martyrs to the cause of Spanish freedom; these are in letters of gold.* Four recesses, at equal distances, command a full view of the hall and galleries; three are appropriated to the reception of the royal family, foreign ambassadors, grandees, and other distinguished visitors: the last is exclusively opened for the reporters to the public press. Four niches on each side, are occupied by statues, representing the cardinal virtues. Six chandeliers of cut glass, are suspended from the cieling; and the hall is well lighted, from semi-circular windows above the frieze by which it is surrounded. The galleries are spacious and convenient: Beadles are in attendance, to preserve decorum: and no money is exacted for admission.

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* Both the above mottos are taken from the Constitutional Code. Vide Chap. I. and II.

Struck by the superior execution of the statues, and other sculptured ornaments, no less than by the taste displayed in the minor arrangements of the building, I was most agreeably surprised to find, on inquiry, that none but native artists had been employed. These seemed to have vied with each other in rendering the hall worthy of the object for which it is designed; and, from subsequent information, I am led to believe that they were actuated more by a desire to show what Spain could produce in this way, than any view to pecuniary profit. They are entitled to great praise, for the manner in which the task has been performed, and it is gratifying to bestow it, when the object is so closely connected with the interests of humanity.

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* The Cortes have since decreed that the names of Lacy, Porlier, Acevedo, and a few other patriots, shall be added, on similar lapidary memorials.

The arrival of the President, attended by most of the Deputies, about half past eight, having called my attention away from the embellishments of the hall, I prepared myself for the enjoyment of a sight still more interesting. His Majesty, preceded by the Queen, and the other members of the Royal Family, in state carriages, left the palace a little before nine o'clock, amidst the firing of cannon, enthusiastic cries of the people, and to the sound of patriotic airs. The whole of the body guard, composed of noblemen or their sons, rode before, and a regiment of cavalry brought up the rear. When the arrival of the first carriage was announced, the deputation appointed to receive her Majesty went out and conducted her o the balcony. She was splendidly attired, and came in supported by the two Princesses, the wives of Don Carlos and of Don Francisco de Paolo. Advancing to the front, they bowed to the Deputies and those in the galleries, who received them with reiterated plaudits. A conviction on the part of the spectators, that those lovely women exulted in the emancipation of their adopted country, ensured a most cordial reception; nor, judging from their personal charms and the way in which they appeared to enjoy the scene, would it require any great effort of imagination to conceive, that the Graces had now descended, to preside at the consecration of human liberty!

When fresh salvos of artillery, and still louder shouts, announced the arrival of the King, another, and more numerous deputation went forth, and in about five minutes, Ferdinand, attended by the Infantes, his Ministers, and a long train of Grandees attached to the household, entered the hall; upon which the Deputies rose, and ranged themselves on each side: a dead silence followed the announcement of his Majesty's approach to the great door; but no sooner had he passed the gilded bar, than an hysterical burst of joy resounded through the hall, and applauses, mingled with benedictions on the head of the "Constitutional King," continued for a considerable time after he reached the throne. He must, indeed, have been an insensible being, who could have witnessed such a scene unmoved: although incapable of describing them, I shall never forget my own feelings on this occasion, and if I had reason to think highly of the Spanish character before, such a display of virtuous enthusiasm was not likely to diminish my admiration.

Ferdinand was dressed in a blue coat, embroidered with gold, crimson velvet waistcoat and small clothes, white silk stockings, gold buckles in his shoes, and a cocked hat, which he carried in his hand: he wore a small sword, and was decorated with several orders. Previous to sitting down, his Majesty testified his satisfaction by frequent bows to the Deputies and spectators in the galleries. When he was seated, the auditory became silent in an instant, after which the ceremony proceeded.

When the King's brothers, Don Carlos and Francisco, the ministers and other attendants, took their places on each side the throne, the President and Secretaries advanced towards his Majesty: on approaching sufficiently near to administer the oath, they held a copy of the Constitution before him: placing one hand on the Holy Evangelists, presented by the President, and holding up the other, Ferdinand read the prescribed formula; upon which, a second manifestation of public feeling took place: when silence was restored, the President, who had resumed his place among the Deputies, addressed the throne, in a speech in which equal justice was done to the Monarch and his people. The answer, which followed, was read by Ferdinand himself, from a written paper, and delivered in a very clear and impressive tone.

As the unrestrained joy of the Deputies, spectators, and multitude, convinced me that this was a day of general oblivion and amnesty, I also endeavoured to forget the melancholy transactions of the last six years. From the moment of the King's entrance, until he retired, the Queen kept her eyes rivetted on his person: she appeared, in fact, to feel that fortune could not confer a greater blessing, than in thus enabling her to be present, when her huband had so effectually recovered the lost affections of his people.

After the President's reply, in which he thanked his Majesty for the speech just delivered, had terminated, Ferdinand, accompanied by the Queen, entered the same carriage, and were followed by the other members of the Family. It was with extreme difficulty the procession moved on, so great was the pressure of a crowd that filled the streets through which it had to pass, and the avenues leading to them.

In addition to the immense concourse that impeded their passage, the balconies and windows were filled by all the beauty of Madrid; innumerable banners waved from every side; garlands and flowers were thrown on the carriages as they passed, and nothing was heard but expressions of the most enthusiastic loyalty.

Several bands of music went before the procession, playing patriotic marches: the first carriage reached the palace at half past one; soon after which, the populace retired, and festivity was suspended till the evening, when a general illumination took place; the theatres were also thrown open to the public, and the streets continued to be crowded till midnight.

Such was the reception of Ferdinand VII. and his family, when he swore to adhere to the Constitution, and thus ended one of the most impressive sights I ever beheld: it might be called the triumph of virtue as well as of freedom, for the people seemed to entertain only one sentiment, that of securing their future happiness, by identifying the interests of the Sovereign with their own.

The most perfect harmony reigned throughout this and the following days: it is true that the Ambassador of a neighbouring power is reported not only to have been rather dissatisfied, but to have even manifested his displeasure by attempting to break through a barrier placed in a street leading into that, through which the procession passed. An assassination had also been perpetrated the preceding night on one of the body guard; but, except as mere matters of historical fact, such isolated incidents do not deserve to be noticed, amidst the unequivocal acclamations of a hundred and fifty thousand human beings.

If I have dwelt, somewhat in detail, on the events of the 9th, it is because a knowledge of all those circumstances, however trivial, which attend the first efforts of a people who have recovered their liberties, is necessary for those who would form an accurate opinion of their motives and character.

LETTER II.

Deliberations of Cortes, and hours of assembling.—Address to the King.—Committees of Inquiry.—Retrospective View.—State of popular opinion in 1814.—National character.—Degree of knowledge.—Religious dogmas.—Influence of the Priesthood and Nobility.—Effects of the French Revolution.—Mental change.—Political apostacy.—The Army.—Errors of Government.—Imprudent speech in Cortes.—Its effects.

Madrid, July —, 1820.

Some days have now elapsed, since the ceremony, described in my last letter, during which the Cortes have met generally twice a day, at nine in the morning, and eight at night; to judge by the temperate and zealous manner in which they have proceeded, every thing may be expected from their future exertions. When it is considered that the elections have, with scarcely a single exception, fallen on men distinguished for talent and virtue, who have been besides proved by persecution and suffering, there is no reason to apprehend that this celebrated assembly will not fully justify the expectations of their constituents.

As in the British Parliament, an address in reply to the King's speech was drawn up on the 10th, and presented on the following day. This document contains a rapid view of the national evils; pays a just tribute to the superior blessings of freedom over slavery, and expresses a determination to make every effort for the removal of public abuses.

Conformably to the regulations of Cortes, established in 1812, fourteen committees have been formed, under the heads of Legislation, Finance, Responsibility, Agriculture, Public Instruction, &c.; these are busily occupied in preparing reports on the respective points submitted to their examination; mean while, Ministers, who have the privilege of assisting in the deliberations, continue to give the necessary information on the foreign and domestic relations of the Peninsula and colonies. Addresses of congratulation are pouring in from every side; the utmost unanimity prevails throughout Spain, and all classes of the people agree in praying for the removal of those abuses which have reduced it to its present deplorable condition. Leaving the National Representatives to pursue the arduous duties, and fulfil the solemn obligations imposed on them, I shall proceed to notice some of the causes which have led to the late change; fully trusting that when the time arrives for examining the transactions of this eventful session, it will be found not to have disappointed the hopes of Europe.

So connected are the events of 1814 with recent circumstances, and such are the seeming contradiction exhibited by them, that to form any correct ideas of what has occurred, it becomes absolutely necessary to take a retrospective view. I shall, therefore, begin with a few facts and observations on the above disastrous epoch of Spanish history, and, in attempting to describe the state of public opinion on the return of FERDINAND VII. I am more likely to elucidate the subject, than if I had commenced my inquiries at a more recent period.

The favourite maxim of Bernardin de St. Pierre, that ignorance is a necessary precursor to knowledge, and that our mental vision, if not protected by such a shade, would be unable to bear the too sudden transition from darkness to light, is borne out by the experience of history; but never has it been more strikingly exemplified than in Spain, where the Constitution, promulgated by the Cortes of 1812, and numerous reforms which followed that memorable year, seem, from subsequent events, to have been more than a nation nurtured in superstition and slavery, could either appreciate or esteem, without being liable to retrograde, on the first attempt that was made to renew their ancient bondage.

That a spirit of freedom, and love of independence, scarcely known to any other nation, have distinguished the people of Spain in all their struggles against foreign aggression, is a fact which every page of their records amply proves; they have, however, made a most extraordinary distinction between external foes and domestic oppressors, and by a singular fatality, while the former were speedily repelled, or only enabled to obtain dominion over the dead bodies of their opponents, the latter have, for three centuries, found it an apparently easy task to establish a tyranny more galling in its effects on the multitude, and ruinous in its operations, than any other recorded in the annals of mankind.

As if they had no danger to apprehend, except from the armies of Napoleon, no sooner had the war terminated, and the excitement to resistance ceased, than the influence of the aristocracy and priesthood immediately returned. The various governments established, for administering public affairs in the name of Ferdinand, were too much occupied with other concerns, to institute a system of public education, and perhaps the means for doing so, were insufficient. This would certainly have afforded the only probable hope of opposing a successful barrier to the insidious doctrines, which led to the renewal of despotism.

Those who refer to the previous condition of the people here, justly observe, that the same monster which had so long succeeded in excluding knowledge from without, possessed still more powerful means of obstructing, and closing the channels of internal communication. This monster was the Inquisition! Such were the effects produced by the Holy Office, that the faculty of thinking, totally excluded from the peasantry and artisan, was only in embryo amongst the upper and middling classes; of those two classes which exercise so great an influence on the permanent destinies of civilized society, it is an undoubted fact, that the latter was by far the most enlightened in Spain: it is equally notorious, that, with very few exceptions, the highest order of nobility, and the common people, were on a level, in point of talents and information!

This almost universal ignorance of the nation is not to be wondered at, when we reflect on the total absence of instruction in which it was suffered to remain: here, the dogmas of Christianity, as taught by its ministers, consisted in impressing the credulous believer with a firm conviction, that both himself and the soil were formed to be the exclusive patrimony of the privileged few: unacquainted with the animating sounds of liberty or patriotism; accustomed implicitly to obey the spiritual guides, or hear the formula of despotism, as set forth in Royal Edicts, they had no conception of political rights, or civil equality. How, therefore, was it possible for such a people to comprehend the word Constitution? How, it has been asked, could those, who were bred up to believe in the existence of a celestial hierarchy, and in the necessity of a similar state of things here below, subscribe to a convention of equality among mankind?* Invariably taught to consider the name of liberty as a political blasphemy, and to regard themselves as possessing an innate right to the passive obedience of the multitude, it was not less difficult for the nobility and priesthood to approve of the doctrines laid down in the new political code. With respect to the people, so deep-rooted were their habits of submission, and so reconciled were they to servitude, that many intelligent observers have informed me, they considered it a species of sacrilege, either to think, act, or speak in opposition to the will of their masters, previous to the diffusion of knowledge which followed the arrival of the French army in 1808. Such, then, being the materials, for which the Constitution of 1812 was framed, who can be surprised at the facility experienced by those who caused its suspension in 1814.

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* A writer, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, relates, that having once endeavoured to persuade a dignitary of the church, of the advantages which would arise from establishing a greater degree of equality amongst the members of the body politic, he replied, "Is it possible, my friend, that a man of your judgment can agree with those fools, (alluding to the *Liberales*,) who pretend to establish such a principle; forgetting that the inmates of heaven itself are not equal either as to happiness or pre-eminence, since they are divided into saints, archangels, seraphim, and cherubim!" This well intentioned man, adds the writer, is adorned with the purest

With respect to the origin and progress of those opinions which overspread Europe soon after the French revolution, although not so general in Spain as in other countries, a deep interest was manifested for the result of the events of 1789: those works which had exposed the vices of the old despotism in France, from The Spirit of Laws, to the writings and speeches of Mirabeau and his con-

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moral and religious virtues, and so anxious was he to remove the delusion under which I laboured, that he repeatedly urged me to abjure my false notions, as the only means of avoiding perdition!

temporaries, were sought for, with avidity, by a large party here; and, when, by a combination of circumstances, which all good men must ever deplore, that country became a prey to contending factions, the reflecting portion of the Spanish nation, who had made themselves acquainted with the previous state of things, never confounded the crimes and follies of a few, with the just causes of the Revolution. They saw that a frightful contrast between the state of knowledge and the administration of public affairs, rendered the recent change inevitable; and that absolute power, no less dangerous to sovereigns, than injurious to their subjects, never fails to engender the elements of its own destruction. Like other patriots of Europe, they lamented those horrors which sullied a cause that might have been, in better hands, a source of immediate and incalculable benefits to mankind; meanwhile, passing events operated as so many lessons to the people, while the admirable publications of Jovellanos, Cabarrus, and La Isla, served to stimulate the spirit of inquiry and reform.

If the above has been marked, as the first era of a great change in the public opinion of Spain, another, and scarcely less important one, is said to have resulted from the impulse given to it, in 1808, and the subsequent intercourse between numerous foreign corps and the inhabitants. The installation of Cortes in 1810, together with the talents displayed by many of its members, soon diffused a light that seems to have completed a mental revolution, which had commenced twenty years before.

Amongst the variety of causes that led to a renewal of tyranny on the return of Ferdinand, I shall mention only a few of the most prominent. Referring to those changes in the public mind, which convinced a large portion of the community that the political existence of Spain depended on the reform of abuses, and the establishment of liberal institutions, it is of course natural to suppose that a still greater number, embracing the grandees, priesthood, legal harpies and their train of attendants, not to mention the followers of the court, all, in fact, who were personally interested in the restoration of the former system of government, left no means untried to insure the success of their designs.

No sooner had the liberty of the press been proclaimed, than several eloquent writers, who had travelled, and marked the progress of knowledge throughout the rest of Europe, almost exclusively devoted their talents to enlightening the people, and showing the advantages of civil freedom: had their efforts been seconded by a more efficient system of legislation, it is incontestible that the enemies of the constitution would have found it much more difficult to carry their projects into effect. Other writers, however, were soon opposed to the former, and although they did not, in the first instance, openly attack the new system, yet, by their continued insinuations against the measures of Cortes, and the policy of ministers; their constant appeals to the passions of an uneducated multitude, they, at length, succeeded in weakening that confidence which had been so justly inspired by the regency and national congress. At a later period, and not long previous to the King's return, when the danger of foreign invasion had subsided, many of those who were distinguished by their zeal in the cause of liberty, suddenly turned round, and, taking advantage of the excessive lenity of the administration,* they did not hesitate to decry the very institutions which they had, themselves, aided to establish. These were represented in pamphlets and periodical publications as subversive of religion and social order; scurrilous personalities were continually directed against the most eminent patriots; thus it was that the press, which had rendered such important benefits on the first dawning of Spanish independence, now became the chief engine of political mischief. When, in addition to the foregoing causes, the impoverished state to which the people were reduced, by a long protracted war, and the influence exerted over them by their spiritual advisers, are considered, there is no longer any reason to be surprised at the apparent indifference, with which the liberticide measures of 1814 were received by the nation.

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* The ministry of this period has been reproached for its misplaced liberality in selecting a number of persons to fill the office of Alcaldes, Corregidors, and other situations of trust, whose bigotted sentiments, and illiberal views, should have excluded them from power, until the constitution had been more firmly established. When these men had effectually coalesced with the priesthood and grandees to restore the old tyranny, there seems to have been no bounds to their zeal in the work of iniquity; no method was left untried to foment disorders in the provinces: crimes were suffered to remain unpunished, and, as an instance of their turpitude, it is said, that Art. 287 of the constitutional code, which provides for the personal liberty of the subject, in the manner of our *habeas corpus*, was represented as being calculated to introduce anarchy, inasmuch as that it gave impunity to crime!

The army is accused by some, of having given the final blow to Spanish freedom, and much acrimonious recrimination has attended the controversy between those who attribute the conduct of the military to their natural inclinations to favour despotism, and others who maintain that they were merely the organs of public opinion. There is, perhaps, no single point connected with the history of the above disastrous period, so worthy of inquiry and examination, as the circumstances by which a body of the state, that has since so effectually retrieved its character for patriotism and disinterestedness, could have been led to co-operate in a work which entailed such irreparable misfortunes on their native country.

Various causes are assigned for the part taken by the military on the return of Ferdinand. Those with whom I have conversed on the subject, since my arrival here, principally deplore that fatality which prevented the Cortes and executive government from sufficiently identifying the interests of the army with the stability of the Constitution.

It is true, several wholesome regulations were made to reform the abuses tolerated under the old system; amongst others, a decree was published in 1811, which settled that proofs of nobility were no longer required for admission into the Naval and Military Colleges: provision was also made for the widows and orphans of those who fell in battle; and a new order was instituted to reward acts of gallantry in the field; but whether it arose from the dilapidated state of the finances, or the poverty of the nation, which rendered it impossible to carry these salutary decrees into effect, they do not appear to have secured the affections of men, who were more anxious to provide for their present wants, than be satisfied with the prospect of future advantages. It had been an invariable policy of the former Government to encourage that *esprit de corps* which has hitherto taught the soldier to believe he has interests separate from those of the citizen; its power, in fact, depended in a great measure, in fomenting jealousies, and creating distinctions between these two orders of the state; and knowing the baneful influence of this policy, men are now astonished that the legislature of 1812, should have omitted any efforts to promote a union, without which, past experience clearly demonstrates, no government founded on the genuine principles of freedom can be of long duration. Had the Cortes exerted the same zeal in organizing a really constitutional army, and in securing its attachment to the new institutions, by a liberal distribution of the uncultivated wilds of the Peninsula, and those immunities which should prove to them that they had an interest in the soil, as this assembly did in the reform of other departments, it is very generally believed, those attacks which were so successfully directed against the Constitution in 1814, would have been completely unavailing.

The erroneous plan of defence adopted by the Spanish generals, and continued disasters resulting from it, were of themselves sufficient to break the chivalrous spirit and damp that generous ardour which had been so often displayed by the troops of Spain. When to these fertile sources of discontent, are added the want of pay and cloathing, together with those innumerable privations they had been exposed to for above five years, it will be readily imagined that the army was but too well prepared to receive the unfavourable impressions made on their minds by the emissaries of the servile party, whose agents were to be found wherever any troops happened to be stationed.

In order the more effectually to accomplish the object in view, every device which malice could suggest, or hatred dictate, was resorted to. Although the least reflection must have proved to the army and national militia, that their sufferings arose from the impoverished state of the country, and those causes inseparable from the peculiar circumstances of the war; yet, did those employed to weaken their confidence, attribute every disaster in the field, or privation in the camp, to the misconduct and inefficiency of the Government. If, while a regiment was on its march, the municipal authorities, either through ignorance, or a design to co-operate with the servile faction, made any difficulties in providing quarters, or other comforts, it was immediately pointed out as the result of those disorders incident to the constitution.

The most lavish praises were, at the same time, bestowed on the olden time, when no such evils visited the Peninsula; in proportion, as present distresses were exaggerated, so were former days eulogized; while those who had destroyed the morals of the people, and degraded the monarchy, were held up as patterns of political perfection!

With enemies such as the friends of liberty had now to contend, nothing but a system of firmness and coercion, very different from that adopted by the too credulous government, could afford the smallest chance of counteracting their insidious machinations. The most trifling incidents were taken instant advantage of to depreciate the character and distort the views of the Cortes. Having succeeded in withdrawing the affections of the soldiery from the executive, there still remained a strong feeling of attachment towards the National Congress, which it became necessary to obliterate, before the enemies of freedom could persuade the people to acquiesce in their meditated projects. Something was still required to remove those sentiments of veneration and respect with which the fathers of their country, as they were emphatically called, had inspired the great mass of the nation. This desideratum of perfidy, was unhappily found, in an event which, under different circumstances, would have been justly regarded as unworthy of notice.

A discussion having arisen in Cortes, during the session of 1813, relative to those civil rights and privileges which ought to be accorded to the army, one of the Deputies, a man of talent and celebrity, influenced either by his prejudices, or anxious to furnish additional means of destruction to the servile faction, launched forth into the bitterest invectives against the military profession in general, and, as a climax to his imprudent speech, he is said to have terminated it by styling those who composed the regular army, "*privileged* "*mercenaries and hired assassins.*"*

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* This sweeping condemnation originated in some of those excesses, which were, it is feared, too justly laid to the charge of the native as well as foreign armies, that served in the Peninsula during the war of independence.

Although this absurd anathema was neutralized by its very extravagance, while every act of the Cortes flatly contradicted imputations that were never more palpably misapplied than to those brave men, who had displayed so much gallantry, and made such sacrifices in defence of their country, yet was it sufficient to produce an almost immediate effect on the opinion of the army. The expressions of the Deputy spread with rapidity through all the regiments, and to complete the mischief, they were represented as conveying the sense of the assembly at large. It was in vain that numbers of the military, including officers of the highest rank, laboured to prove, in opposition to those employed to circulate the poison, that the Cortes had given numerous proofs of a desire to better the condition of the army, and place its members on an equality with the citizens. All their efforts seemed ineffectual, and to such a degree of exasperation had the minds of the soldiery been worked up, that the only reason given by the officers and men who formed the corps under Elio, why they considered the constitution as having been justly abolished, and the liberal members of the Cortes imprisoned, was by repeating the offensive expressions I have quoted, as being the opinion entertained by the whole Congress!

Having thus endeavoured to give you some notion of that change in public opinion, which led to the revival of despotism, other facts, tending to throw additional light on that chaos of disorder and crime which preceded the catastrophe of 1814, remain to be noticed; but as these belong more immediately to the personal history of Ferdinand, it will perhaps be better to connect them with the following account of his return to power.

LETTER III.

Regency and Cortes of 1812.—Refutation of the Charges against them.—Treaty of Valençay.—Correspondence between the King and Regency.—Decree of Cortes.—Return of Ferdinand.—Journey to Zaragoza, and arrival at Valencia.—The Cardinal de Bourbon.—Policy of the British Ministers.—Assemblage at Valencia.—Decree of May 4th.—Servile faction.—Arrest and imprisonment of the Patriots.

Madrid, July—, 1821.

Those memorable events which awakened Spain from its lethargy of three centuries, threatening, at no distant day, to erase this country from the list of civilized nations, are, doubtless, fresh in your recollection. You cannot, however, form a correct notion of the perfidy and ingratitude experienced by the Regency and Cortes of 1812, without taking a retrospective view of all that occurred in the Peninsula, from the abdication of Ferdinand and his father Charles IV., pronounced at Bayonne, on the 5th May, 1808, till the triumphant establishment of the Cortes at Madrid, in January, 1814. Notwithstanding the calumnies to which they have been exposed, their public acts, no less than the persevering assiduity with which they conducted the affairs of Spain, in times of unexampled difficulty and danger, labouring to introduce reforms analogous to the new code which their wisdom had framed, will always furnish an unanswerable reply to the assertions of their enemies; and, many as are the brilliant eras of Spanish history, posterity will surely regard that in which so much heroism and constancy were displayed, as most worthy of its applause and imitation.

Although the circumstances which induced the reigning family to forfeit every claim to the crown, were overlooked by the partizans of tyranny, they have not hesitated to assert that there had been no *legitimate* government in Spain, except those appointed by Charles IV. and his son; yet, is it worthy of attention, to compare the conduct of both parties: the Sovereign and Heir Apparent tamely resigning their rights to the Throne, while the Provisional government and Cortes, were making the most strenuous efforts for its preservation in their family! The latter assembly, is also represented as having been illegally constituted: this charge, like every other made against them, has been ably refuted by so many writers, that I shall merely adduce the wisdom and moderation with which they exercised their legislative functions, as affording the best possible title to legitimacy. Had they retained the Inquisition, suffered the Church property to remain in the hands of an indolent and overgrown hierarchy, or taken no steps to remove those monstrous abuses which had sprung up with, and been tolerated by the old Government, then indeed, might there have been some ground for the obloquy with which that celebrated body of patriots has been assailed. Having, by the most unwearied exertions, and the co-operation of their allies, reconquered the Peninsula, and laid the foundation of that reform, which was effected to a considerable extent, both the Government and people of Spain looked forward to the arrival of the King, with the exultation of men who felt they had performed a sacred duty: proud of the victory they had achieved, his return was hailed, as the termination of all their sufferings, and since the best blood of Spain had been shed, to secure his crown, they had certainly a right to calculate on his gratitude, and even to consider it as the best guarantee of their future felicity.

How these just expectations of a generous people were requited, is but too well known to Europe: as, however, many of the facts connected with the Restoration of Ferdinand may have escaped your memory, I shall shortly recapitulate the result of my own inquiries, on an epoch, by which the historians of other times will naturally estimate the character of this deluded monarch.

When, during the disastrous campaign of 1814, Napoleon had determined to negociate with Ferdinand VII.* a treaty was concluded at Valençay,

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* I have been confidently informed, that there was at this period, a party in the Cortes, who wished to transfer the crown of Spain to the head of Lord Wellington; and that his fears lest such an event should take place, greatly influenced the conduct of the French Emperor. It was also said, that had it not been for his anxiety to conciliate the people of Spain, Napoleon would in conformity to the last arrangements at Bayonne, have restored Charles IV., instead of his son.

Referring to the first point, it would have been a novel incident in the history of our time, to see a French and an English on the 11th December, by which he recognised the latter as legitimate Sovereign of Spain, stipulating amongst other provisions, that those who had followed the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte, or had held places of trust under him, should be reinstated in their dignities, and have their confiscated property restored.

As it was contrary to the uniform policy of the Regency, and in direct opposition to the decree of Cortes, promulgated on the 1st January, 1811, declaring that they would not acknowledge any stipulations entered into, between the Royal Family and Napoleon, while the former continued in France, a copy of the above decree was immediately sent to Ferdinand in reply to his letter, announcing what had taken place, and the treaty was returned, without being ratified.

While the Duke de San Carlos was on his way to Madrid with the first despatches of Ferdinand, the king received a note from the Count de la Forest, the French diplomatic agent at Valençay, proposing a suspension of hostilities on the part of Napoleon: anxious to return, on any terms, General Palafox, the celebrated hero of Zaragoza, was sent on, charged with another communication, enclosing the note, to the Regency, and urging

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General wielding sceptres at the two extremities of Europe: but, perhaps, such a coincidence would have been highly favourable to its interests, particularly if Lord Wellington had used his power in Spain, as Bernadotte has that with which he is intrusted in Sweden.

their immediate attention to its contents. To this, the Cardinal de Bourbon, as President, returned an answer, breathing sentiments of the utmost loyalty; congratulating Ferdinand on the prospect of his speedy return, and expressing the joy with which he would be received by the nation. "In the midst of those transports," said the President, "to which the proximity of such a blessing gives rise, the Regency already think they hear the voice of your Majesty, that you have arrived amongst your faithful subjects, and that we have placed in your hands that power, of which we have been only the depositaries, and whose weight is oppressive to all, except the Monarch himself, who, though in exile, has re-established the Cortes, given liberty to an enslaved people, and precipitated from the throne of Spain, the ferocious monster of despotism. The highest praise is due to your Majesty, for this noble action, and Europe already pays you the tribute of applause which has been so well merited." Such was the language of men who have been so frequently accused of a desire to protract the King's return for the purpose of keeping the reins of government somewhat longer in their own hands! The letter ended, by informing Ferdinand that, a Plenipotentiary had been named by the Regency, to appear at any Congress which might be appointed to conclude a general peace, and that the treaty ought to be ratified, not by them, but by the King himself, either at Madrid, or wherever he should be established when constitutionally invested with the functions of royalty.

The above communication was dated on the 29th January, and on the following day the Cortes, informed by the Regency of its proceedings, directed that the Council of State should suggest what line of policy ought to be adopted towards the King, in the event of his return to Spain, before the conclusion of a general peace. This matter was accordingly discussed, and on the 2nd February, the Council declared that Ferdinand VII. should not be allowed to exercise the royal authority, until he had sworn to maintain the Constitution of 1812.

The Cortes having taken the foregoing opinion into consideration, a decree, composed of fourteen articles, was immediately drawn up; this enacted that the King was not to be considered at liberty, and that, consequently, no oath of allegiance could be administered in His Majesty's name, till he had, himself, sworn to observe the new political code, as prescribed in Art. 173; that the Generals commanding on the frontiers, should be charged to send couriers extraordinary to Madrid, advising the Regency of his approach, in order that the necessary arrangements might be made for his reception; that the President should go forward to meet His Majesty, and give an account of all that had been done during his absence; that no armed force was to enter Spain with the King; that the Captain General of the province should appoint an escort suited to the royal dignity; that none of those who had espoused the cause of King Joseph should be allowed to pass the frontiers with His Majesty; that the Regency should indicate the route, by which he was to reach Madrid, and that he was to be accompanied by the President, who was to present a copy of the Constitution to the King, in order that he might be prepared to swear with an entire knowledge of its contents; that on reaching the capital, Ferdinand should proceed directly to the hall of Cortes, to take the oath, with all the solemnities required by the established regulations; that after having sworn, he should go to the Royal Palace, accompanied by thirty members, and that the Regency should be there, in readiness to transfer the executive authority to the hands of the Constitutional Monarch. Finally, that a proclamation should inform the people of all the occurrences attending this important consummation of their wishes.

In a public address to the nation, which preceded the King's arrival, the Regency entered into a full explanation of the motives which led to the rejection of the treaty of Valençay, exposing its incompatability with the honour and interests of Spain, and accounting for the exclusion of those who had followed the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte.*

While the correspondence between Ferdinand

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* I shall have another opportunity of alluding to this famous party, so well known by the name of *Afrancesados*.

and the Regency was carried on, Napoleon, relying on the good faith of the former, decided that he should return to his dominions, without any farther guarantee, than his own promise to fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

Leaving Valençay, accompanied by his brothers, a confessor, and some other attendants, the companions of his retreat, Ferdinand reached the Catanian frontier, on the 24th of March, 1814, in consequence of the treaty already mentioned, and which, according to a passage in one of his letters to the Regency, " contained no condition that did not accord with the honour, glory and interests of the Spanish nation; for, it could not have obtained a more advantageous peace, after a succession of victories!"

Nothing could exceed the amiable and paternal tone of Ferdinand, during his journey; to the Spaniards, who had accompanied King Joseph to France, he gave the consolatory assurance, that they should soon return to their native country; and that, as the common father of his people, he had determined to collect the members of every party under the royal mantle, and to form of them but one family.

As Napoleon still occupied the throne of France, when Ferdinand entered Catalonia, amidst the acclamations of the people and soldiery, he continued to express the same beneficent sentiments with regard to his future policy, so industriously circulated by his attendants at Toulouse, and the other towns through which he had passed.

Marshal Suchet, who was charged with the safe conduct of the King, having performed that duty as far as the confines of France, Ferdinand was received on the limits of the Spanish territory by the General in chief, Don Francisco Copons, who immediately communicated the decree of Cortes, and the orders of the Regency; with all of which, he declared himself perfectly satisfied; nor did he exercise a single act of sovereignty, while in the above province.

Instead, however, of proceeding by the direct road to Valencia, as prescribed by the Cortes, His Majesty came to Zaragoza, alleging as the reason of this change, his anxiety to view the ruins of that celebrated city, and thus pay a compliment to its brave inhabitants.

When the liberal professions made by Ferdinand while on his way to the frontiers, are compared with his subsequent conduct, it is difficult to conceive what his real intentions were, on entering Spain. However plausible the reasons assigned for visiting Zaragoza may have been, this act alone, was sufficient to excite suspicions of his sincerity, and many days did not elapse, before these were but too fatally realized.

From some incidents that occurred both in the above city and on his reaching Valencia, it soon became apparent that the restored monarch was neither an admirer of those who framed the Constitution of Cadiz, nor inclined to favour the adherents of King Joseph. This was proved by his quietly suffering the arrest of two highly distinguished individuals who had been Counsellors of State to the latter, while it was plainly intimated to those in his confidence, that a new charter would be granted, but that it should be very different from the one then in force.

Disappointed in meeting the King, owing to his change of route as settled by the Cortes, the President did not see Ferdinand until he had approached within a few leagues of Valencia. The manner in which the Venerable Prelate was received by his royal nephew, is adduced as another proof of his disposition to second the views of those perfidious advisers who were collected there, even before they had conquered any scruples he might have previously entertained. Impressed with a due sense of their own dignity, the Cortes had strictly enjoined the President, not to conform to the old feudal ceremony of kissing the King's hand, which had formerly been the token of vassalage, and he faithfully promised to obey the injunction; but on being admitted to an audience, Ferdinand insisted on his conforming to the ancient usage, and whether influenced by his fears, or thinking it of little importance to resist, the Cardinal yielded, thus betraying a want of firmness and dignity, at a time, when both were so essential to the interests of the people. This ill-timed condescension did not, however, operate in favour of the President, who was dismissed half-way on the road to Madrid, and not only sent into exile, but deprived of his ecclesiastical emoluments soon after the King's arrival here.

On hearing that Ferdinand had re-entered his dominions, several of the foreign envoys joined him from Madrid, amongst the rest the British Ambassador went to congratulate his Majesty, and a secret treaty was concluded between the two countries. Although the articles of this convention are still unknown, they are supposed to have included nothing more than a personal recognition of our claims for the supplies of arms and money granted during the war; but in thus entering into negociations with the King before he had conformed to the wishes of the Cortes, the ministers of that day have incurred the charge of being indifferent to the fate of the Constitutional party.

In addition to those who were attracted to Valencia by the presence of Ferdinand, it was remarked, that many hundred individuals of every rank and profession, who had been distinguished for their opposition to the new institutions, or who had remained in obscurity and concealment, while the Peninsula was exposed to the ravages of war, now flocked to the royal standard, and greatly increased the servile party. The King had only been a few days there, when the news of Napoleon's abdication arrived. This event must have had considerable influence on his policy, while it afforded him a plausible excuse for rejecting the treaty of Valençay. As might be expected, such a moment was not lost by the priesthood and grandees, who had come to offer their advice; they used every argument to convince Ferdinand that the constitutionalists and followers of King Joseph, were equally obnoxious to the people, adding that the attachment of all ranks and conditions to his own person was unbounded. Considering the credulous facility with which those who had accompanied the King into France, acceded to all the terms successively proposed there, the way in which they suffered the inexperienced prince to be cajoled on this occasion, ceases to be a source of astonishment.

But another and more powerful impulse was given to the destinies of Spain, by the arrival of a deputation, charged with the famous representation of the *sixty-nine*, since known under the ironical appellation of *Persas.* This compilation of calumny and falsehood, contained a virulent attack on all the measures adopted by the Cortes and Regency, whether for the defence of the country, or reform of public abuses, from the period of Ferdinand's departure, until his return, and is justly designated as a monument of eternal infamy and crime, by those able writers who have so triumphantly refuted all its calumnies.

It cannot be doubted, that many causes conspired to restore the old despotism, but there could be little hope for Spanish freedom, when sixty-nine deputies, who had been returned on the express condition of adhering to the constitution, and who had solemnly sworn to preserve it inviolate, could be found so lost to all sense of honour, as to sign a document, in which the monarch was advised not to sanction the proceedings of their own body.*

It was not until ELIO commanding the corps assembled at Valencia, had placed the troops at the entire disposal of His Majesty, that the project for the re-establishment of despotism, was completely developed. This man, who had but a short time before, sworn fidelity to the political code, and been honoured with particular marks of favour by the Regency, issued an order of the day, in which he congratulated the army on the King's return, talked of their attachment to his sacred person, and concluded, by advising Ferdinand to govern in the manner of his ancestors! When every thing was ripe for commencing more active operations, two Royal decrees dated from Valencia, on the 4th of May, at once discovered the views of the servile party, proving that both the *liberales* who had preserved the throne and reformed the government, as well as the followers of King Joseph, which had hitherto divided the nation, were now to be sacrificed to a third, till then regarded with the greatest contempt, and composed of persons, only remarkable for their ignorance and imbecility.

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* The composition of this scandalous paper, is attributed to Bernardo Mozo y Rosales, who has since been raised to the dignity of a Marquis, under the title of Mata-Florida, and filled offices of the highest trust, during the reign of terror. Having formed part of the ministry, whose power terminated with the events of last March, he has since taken up his abode at Bayonne, which, from its proximity to the frontier, has become a receptacle for many of those, who are disaffected to the new order of things. A most able and conclusive refutation of the false assertions and specious arguments of Rosales has appeared since my arrival: this eloquent production, in addition to its having defended the Cortes, and vindicated the nation, contains a great mass of valuable information, relative to the ancient laws and customs of the Spanish monarchy.

The denomination of Persas, is derived from the first paragraph, which begins by alluding to a custom of the ancient Persians, by which anarchy was tolerated for five days after the death of the Sovereign, in order that the excesses to which it gave rise, should ensure a greater degree of fidelity to his successor. This simile was absurdly applied to the state of the Peninsula, during the absence of Ferdinand.

By the first of these decrees, Ferdinand was made to declare that the convocation of Cortes at Cadiz was illegal, and the Constitution promulgated by it prejudicial to the interests of Spain. He confessed that the existing state of knowledge did not admit of a despotic government; and promised to convoke the legitimate Cortes both of Spain and South America, in which a new charter favourable to liberty should be framed; that it should also guarantee the liberty of the press, save and except those precautions necessary to prevent its abuses; that he would govern according to law by respecting individual liberty, because he hated despotism. After all these princely promises, the decree concludes by dissolving the Cortes, and threatening with death all those who should either act or speak in favour of that Constitution which had been sworn to by nearly the whole monarchy, and acknowledged by all the great powers of Europe, opposed to Napoleon.*

The second decree, related to the liberty of the press as established by the Cortes, and directed that until a new law was promulgated on the subject, all periodical and other works should be submitted to a censorship composed of persons who had neither served under the provisional governments, nor followed the fortunes of the *intrusive* King, as Joseph Bonaparte was now styled.†

Previous to the publication of the decrees which preceded a return to despotism, the Cortes addressed two letters to the King, expressing the state of doubt and agitation, in which his long delay at Valencia had thrown the nation, also praying that no time should be lost in assuming the reins of government. To these, evasive answers were given; Ferdinand promised to comply with their wishes, but entered into no farther explanations. Conscious of the rectitude of their past conduct, and relying on the purity of their future intentions, no steps were taken by the Cortes or Regency to avert the coming storm. It is however an undoubted fact, that several of the chiefs, who had been most popular during the war of independence, offered to act against the traitors who surrounded the monarch at Valencia, and that nothing but the fear of plunging the nation into the horrors of civil war, prevented those offers from being accepted. While the praise of their contemporaries, and the applause of posterity are due to these real fathers of their country, they should have reflected, that those who erect an edifice of freedom, do but half their office, in not taking the precautions necessary for its maintenance: and above all, in not being prepared to make every sacrifice for its preservation.

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* The Cortes and Constitution of 1812, had been recognized by all the colonies, except Venezuela and Buenos Ayres; a copy of Ferdinand's decree will be found in the Appendix.

† This being the first time the King had been known to call his predecessor an intruder, it excited considerable surprise on the part of those who had observed his former conduct. It was certainly no proof of consistency in Ferdinand, thus to designate a Prince, whose legitimacy he had himself repeatedly acknowledged in the formal cessions made at Bayonne; various proclamations, private letters, the celebration of anniversaries, soliciting the first order in the monarchy from Joseph while at Valençay, and above all, by demanding one of the Imperial Family in marriage!

The reign of terror which continued to desolate Spain during the following six years, may be dated from the publication of the decrees promulgated on the 4th of May; as a natural consequence of these, a part of Elio's corps under General Eguia, were directed to surround the Capital, an order was at the same time forwarded to the agents of Police at Madrid, to arrest and imprison the Regents Agar and Ciscar, together with all the Ministers, President and Secretaries of Cortes; many of its most distinguished members, and those who had written in favour of the Constitution. The arrest took place on the night of the 10th and 11th of May. Two days after, the king entered his capital, preceded by a large body of cavalry, and attended by all the ambassadors of foreign courts accredited to the Regency, also the whole of those who had gone to welcome his arrival at Valencia: the event was celebrated by a succession of splendid fêtes, in which many of the foreign envoys vied with each other in demonstrations of respect to the restored monarch.*

Having thus brought you to the re-establishment of despotism, it next remains for me to notice those measures which led to the late explosion, and reduced Spain to the deplorable state in which it was found by the constitutional government.

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* I have been told by an eye witness that the celebration of Ferdinand VII.'s return by the English ambassador, lasted ten days, and that the expences thus incurred, could not have been much less than £20,000. It is also a remarkable fact, that the Spanish cavalry which escorted the king into Madrid, was commanded by an English General, now a governor in one of our West India Islands.

LETTER IV.

Violation of the Royal Promises.—Decrees and Circular Letters.—General Measures after the King's Arrival at Madrid.—Principal Actors in the Persecution of the Patriots.—Anecdote of a ci-devant Monk.—Projects imputed to the *Liberales.*—Story of a Seal and Medal.—New efforts to Criminate the Patriots.—Proceedings in the Provinces.—*Informers.*—Police Judges. —Legal Procedure.—Treatment of Arguelles.—Ruiz de Padron, Cessero, &c.

Madrid, July, 1821.

THERE can be no better criterion for estimating the claims of Ferdinand VII. to the loyalty and confidence of a people who greeted his return with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy, than by comparing the plan of government adopted immediately after his arrival here, with the flattering promises held out in his proclamation of the 4th, of which, the most important were openly violated within a few days of their being made; while, in fact, the foreign ambassadors and servile faction were celebrating the King's entry in the capital.* The very first measures of his ministers proved that, the above state paper was merely the prelude to a system of tyranny and oppression, more intolerable, than any other hitherto exercised in this devoted country.

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* Lord Wellington arrived at Madrid from Paris on the 24th May, and is said to have experienced a most flattering reception from the King, as Duke of Cuidad-Rodrigo.

Pursuant to the determination previously formed, to rescind the beneficent acts of the Regency and Cortes, royal orders and circular letters now succeeded each other with unceasing rapidity; and, as if it was not enough to revive the numberless abuses accumulated in former reigns—all those who had contributed to their removal, or manifested the smallest predilection in favour of liberal institutions, were marked out as the victims of a persecution unequalled in atrocity since the sanguinary days of Sylla and Marius.

So well had the project for restoring despotism been combined, that while Madrid was disgraced by the excesses committed under the sanction of priests; regularly organized mobs, also headed by the clergy, were occupied in destroying the emblems of freedom and insulting the constitutional authorities in several of the provinces. It should however be recorded, in justice to the army, that excepting the Corps under Elio, few of the military participated in those scenes of anarchy and crime; on the contary, if sanctioned by their superiors, both the officers and men of several regiments would have gladly fought in defence of liberties that had been so dearly earned; nor could the fanatics who thus dishonoured humanity and polluted their sacred calling obtain any partizans at Cadiz, where the political Chief, General Valdes, and municipality were, amongst the first who addressed spirited remonstrances to the Regency, complaining of Ferdinand's delay at Valencia, pointing out its probable consequences, and urging the Cortes to take such steps as were best calculated to secure the constitution against the designs of its enemies.

In addition to the decrees which restored the religious corporations; opened the convents, re-established the inquisition,* and ordained the restitution of church property, appropriated by Cortes to the expences of the war and payment of the national debt; the liberal party, as well as those who had espoused the interests of King Joseph became the objects of Royal orders, which clearly indicated that no mercy was to be shown towards either. A sketch of the treatment experienced by these two parties, embracing as they do, all the knowledge and virtue of Spain, will serve more than any thing else I could adduce, to illustrate the cruelty and injustice which signalized the transactions of this melancholy period.

Over this sanguinary persecution presided Don Pedro Macanaz, invested with the specious title of Minister of grace and justice, and Eguia, the Captain General of Madrid, who succeeded the patriotic Villa Campo. Amongst their numerous subordinate agents, Ostolaza and Agustin de Castro, the former a priest, the latter a Monk of the Escurial, were the most conspicuous. The first is supposed to have insidiously prevailed on Ferdinand to adopt a line of policy foreign to his intentions on leaving Valencia; while the latter, who had passed through all the gradations of political apostacy, at one time recommending the exclusion of the Bourbon dynasty, and at another preaching sermons in favour of the constitution, was now hired by the servile faction to vilify the patriots in general, but more particularly the Cortes and Regency. De Castro who had long been connected with the public press, now superintended the editorship of a newspaper called the Sentinal of La Mancha,* whose political agency soon became apparent. It is worthy of remark that the warrant of arrest dated from Valencia, which Ferdinand opened against the Patriotic deputies and members of the late government, bears the same date with the declaration in which he solemnly guaranteed the personal liberty of his subjects. No sooner was this edict carried into effect, than a list of the proscribed appeared in the Sentinal; elucidated by a variety of comments, in which they were designated as traitors, and indirectly alluded to, as fit objects of popular vengeance. Such was the influence of these appeals to the passions of a mob, already instructed how to act, that one party headed by the Vicar of La Trappe, whose convent had been recently established by a decree of Cortes, actually assailed the prison of La Corona in which the deputies were confined, and but for the firmness of the guard, would have succeeded in sacrificing the intended victims, while many of those who had been sent to pull down the constitutional stone,* and drag it through the streets, were heard to exclaim that the authors of the constitution, ought to be served like the Lapida; others were ordered to sing the following wretched couplet before the prison doors:

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* The decrée upon this measure appeared on the 21st July. It is a curious as well as important historical document, and will therefore be found in the appendix. It was countersigned by Macanaz, whose grandfather passed a great part of his life in the prisons of the holy office, and died in exile for his writings against *that* dreadful tribunal.

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* Another paper equally slavish in its doctrines and scurrilous in its abuse of the patriotic party, entitled the *Advocate of the Nation and King*, was also in the pay of government, and conducted by the Count Torre-Musquiz, a rank servile, and one of the sixty-nine, a third *el Lucindo* or *Fernandino*, published at Valencia, co-operated with those of the Capital.

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* When the political code was promulgated in 1812, a decree of the Cortes directed, that a marble slab, bearing, PLAÇA DE LA CONSTITUCION, in gilt letters, should be conspicuously affixed in the principal square or market place of each town throughout the monarchy. These were, of course, taken down and broken to pieces on the King's return, but at present there is scarcely a village in the Peninsula without its *Lapida*, which has been every where restored and consecrated amidst the rejoicings of the people. Such was the veneration in which these symbols of liberty were held by the patriots, that many contrived to preserve fragments, which have been restored to light since March last, and are now sought for as valuable relics. I saw a great number on my way to Madrid.

Murieron los Liberales,
Murio la Constitucion,
Porque viva el Rey Fernando,
Con la Patria y Religion!

The calumnies of De Castro and Torre-Musquiz were supported by others, still more atrocious than the first; in these, the prisoners were accused of a design to abolish the monarchical system in Spain and substitute a republic,* while the Constitution of Cadiz was falsely represented to be a mere copy of that framed by the National Assembly of France, intended to annihilate religion, dethrone the King, and enslave the people!

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* This was only an old calumny revived; for such were the efforts of the servile faction to render the heads of the liberal party unpopular, that they had in 1813, employed a dependent of the old dowager Duchess de Osuna, to personate a French general, sent by Napoleon to treat with the *liberales*, for the establishment, of what the impostor was directed to style, the *Iberian Republic*. The dexterous mode of getting up the plot, proves that this talent does not exclusively belong to the statesmen of more northern countries. Being provided with a false passport, and other documents necessary for the performance of his part, the agent suffered himself to be arrested by the governor of Baza in Grenada: when examined, he stated that his name was Louis Aridinot, and that he was in communication with some of the most distinguished characters in Spain, all of whom had received him very favourably; amongst others, he had gained over Agustin Argüelles. Notwithstanding the plausible manner in which his story was told, there could be no doubt of his object, but the insinuations of the servile papers were so pointed, that government caused a regular prosecution to be instituted against the impostor. The deception was made still more apparent on the *soi-disant* general's being confronted with M. Argüelles, whose

Amongst the absurd tales circulated by the servile journals, in order to justify the measures of severity in agitation, one stated that eight thousand jacobins had subscribed to raise a fund for establishing the new republic; that arms were prepared and every thing in readiness to put their plan into execution; moreover, that the arrival of the King, had alone prevented his throne from being occu-

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interrogatories soon led to an exposure of the real authors of the plot.

On his being threatened with the consequences of persevering in such gross falsehoods, the agent at length proposed that if his life was spared, he would disclose the truth; to this the Regency acceded; upon which it appeared, that after having amply provided him with funds, the duchess sent him to a canon of the Cathedral at Grenada, for the purpose of being finally instructed in the object of his mission!

With respect to the impostor himself, he is said to have terminated his existence by suicide. From some additional disclosure made before he had recourse to this act of desperation, it appears he was a native of France, and that his real name was *Jean Barteau,* who, after having passed some years in the French monastery of La Trappe, and conformed to all the austerities of that singular community, became a soldier, and served with one of the Swiss regiments in the pay of Spain: judging from a variety of other confessions relative to his former adventures, it was easy to perceive he had played many parts not much more honourable than that which had been so ably cast for him by the *Serviles.*

pied by those monsters of impiety and despotism, who were now happily in the hands of justice, and would doubtless soon be brought to condign punishment. In addition to the Regents, who were seized and thrown into prison on the night of the 10th May, the order of arrest, included those of the ministers, Alvarez Guerra, Cano Manuel, and Garcia Herreros: also the names of above thirty deputies, of whom, Agustin Arguelles, Calatrava, Villanueva, Munos Torrero, Martinez de la Rosa, Ramos Arispe, Quintana and many others were incarcerated. Count Tereno, Diaz del Moral, Isturiz, Quartero, and a few more, succeeded in effecting their escape. When this event was known at court, a Royal order decreed the immediate sequestration of their property; nor did the admiration and esteem which they had acquired during the war of independence, protect them from calumny and abuse. The enlightened patriotism which had marked their conduct, and which happily for their country, still pervades the Cortes, was loaded with obloquy, and a series of papers, in which they were represented as conspirators and assassins, (by the authority of Eguia,) were distributed gratis through the country, at the moment that the decree, which subjected the press to a rigid censorship, was published in the official gazette of Madrid!

In order to prolong the farce of a conspiracy, Don Narciso Rubio, a commissary of war, and one of those arrested for their liberal opinions after Ferdinand's entry, was taken before the Judge Villela at midnight, to be examined relative to a seal and medal found on his person by the keeper of the prison. Although the first merely bore a family crest, and the medal had been received from the junta of Valencia for the gallantry displayed by Rubio, while the French army under Marshal Moncey was before the walls in 1808, Eguia in a letter to the judge positively asserted that both were closely connected with the projected republic. Previous to the fulminating threats with which the examination of Rubio ended, he was treated in a very gracious manner by Villela, who promised immediate liberation and the protection of government, if he would but compromise the prisoners, by naming his accomplices! Scarcely able to refrain from laughter at the pompous gravity assumed by the judge and his attendants, Rubio confined himself to a plain statement of the way in which he had become possessed of the treasonable articles, and concluded by expressing his astonishment that the ministers should attach importance to trifles utterly unworthy of their notice. But the ministers judged otherwise; and that the effect of this notable discovery might not be altogether lost, a formal report of the occurrence was made to the King, the whole garrison of Madrid put under arms, double sentries placed round the Palace, cannon planted in the Puerto del Sol, and such other arrangements made, as were most likely to alarm the public and inspire the Royal family with fears for their personal safety.

Lest any doubt should remain as to the strict veracity of the report, de Castro caused a mutilated design of the medal to be engraved for his paper; this corresponded exactly with the description given of it by Eguia, and was accompanied by fresh torrents of abuse against the Patriots, who were again menaced with all the terrors of the law.

Having kept the prisoners in close confinement, deprived of any communication with their family and friends, until the 17th May, the commission appointed to inspect their papers, and over which Villela presided, made a report of its proceedings to the King and solicited further instructions. It is hardly necessary to add that, this request arose from there not being a line found to justify the imputations of de Castro and his employers; still less any act upon which a trial could be instituted with the least colour of justice. So far indeed from this being the case, in addition to the fervent tone of patriotism displayed in the most secret correspondence of the constitutionalists, the private letters of several, contained proofs of the warmest attachment to the person of Ferdinand; these were of course overlooked by a set of men expressly selected to sacrifice the prisoners. It was accordingly on the mere authority of this report, that a royal order of the 20th, directed the judge to prepare the act of accusation, without waiting for any other documents than those already in their hands.

Disappointed in the hope of procuring any documents in the papers seized, upon which charges could be founded, recourse was had to another measure well worthy of those who commenced the proceedings. All the *segretarias* or public offices of government were ransacked, with a view of ascertaining whether any letters or other testimonials could be discovered to criminate the patriots. A second order was issued, to place the journals and decrees of Cortes at the disposal of the judges; and agreeable to the powers vested in these men, they forwarded circulars to the agents of police and minor tribunals appointed to conduct this persecution in the provinces, directing that minute inquiry should be made into the conduct of those arrested in the capital, and witnesses procured to appear against them. A letter to the same effect was addressed by Villela to the captain-general of Andalusia, who was more particularly called upon to find out and secure the persons of those who had promoted the tumults in the galleries of Cortes, during the debates of that assembly.

The system of subornation and perjury instituted in the provincial cities, was encouraged with still greater zeal at Madrid: here, the certain road to emolument and promotion, was to become a spy and informer, while all who came forward to bear testimony against the patriots were sure of an ample reward: I have been confidently informed that no ties of consanguinity, however near, prevented individuals from being urged to betray the prisoners, and various instances are on record, of the Monarch's signature being affixed to Royal orders, which assigned pecuniary remuneration or conferred places of trust, on persons who had thus distinguished themselves.

But the most palpable dereliction of law and justice connected with the prosecution, was the circular addressed to various members of the Cortes, many of whom had signed the representation delivered by Rosales to the King at Valencia: this extraordinary communication called upon them to give a general account of the proceedings during the session of 1812, and to designate those deputies who had been most forward in attacking the sovereignty of Ferdinand VII. Neither the extravagance nor injustice of this demand, seems to have excited either surprise or hesitation on the part of those to whom it was sent; for, of the twenty-one who had received the circular, which was dated on the 22nd, seventeen forwarded their replies before the 30th of May: a more heterogeneous mass of slander, falsehood and absurdity than these exhibit cannot well be conceived; a few of the assertions put forth by the writers of those precious documents, styled *informers*, may be considered as fair specimens of the whole collection. Don Joaquin Perez stated, that the *Liberales*, of whom he named several, had been occupied in developing a system of democracy; Don Manuel del Pozo, that there was a party in the Cortes, whose object was, to ruin the throne, destroy the altar, and abolish the monarchy by depriving the King of his sceptre and even life: Mozo Rosales, that the Constitution of Cadiz was contrary to the sovereignty of Ferdinand, and that many of the spectators assembled in the galleries, were paid for obstructing the freedom of discussion: Count Buenavista, that besides the inflammatory nature of the debates in Cortes, the King's trial and condemnation to death, in a coffee house of Cadiz, was a fact of public notoriety.*

The statements of Torre Musquiz, Ostolaza, Inguaño, bishop of Pamplona, Calderon, Villa Gomez, the Marquis de Lazan and other denunciators were, if possible, more calumnious and unmeaning than those I have cited; yet was it on such testimony, and given by persons who had themselves solemnly sworn to preserve the constitution, that the most virtuous men and enlightened patriots of Spain, were consigned to poverty, exile and imprisonment, while many of those who thus stigmatised them, were rewarded with the highest offices in the state!

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* Alvaro Florez Estrade, author of the celebrated representation to Ferdinand VII. published at London in 1818, presided at the patriotic meetings, where this famous trial was said to have taken place. He was consequently amongst the number of those condemned to death, and would have most probably suffered, had it not been for his timely escape to England, where this eloquent writer continued till the emancipation of his country.

In commenting on the conduct of the police judges Villela, Galiano and de Leyva, Don Lorenzo Villanueva, whose valuable notes* have furnished me with many of these details, proves in a manner the most satisfactory, that this disgraceful triumvirate were actuated throughout by a rancorous spirit of personal hostility towards the prisoners, and that to gratify their desire of revenge, as well as to obey the orders of their patrons, they not only disregarded the instructions contained in the Royal orders, but grossly violated the laws of the monarchy in every stage of the prosecution: it could not however be otherwise in a case of this description which had its origin in such a palpable departure from all the principles of justice and humanity. The above writer, who was himself one of their victims, dwells with peculiar stress on the mode of arrest, which was effected by a military force in the dead of night, and without the production of a warrant or assigning any cause for the proceeding: the seizure of papers too, though limited by the King's order to those of a political nature, extended to documents and private letters containing the most important family secrets. Instead of the mild treatment recommended in the Royal order addressed to de Leyva, most of the prisoners were thrown into loathsome dungeons, and in other respects exposed to the greatest privations: so far from conforming to the old laws practised even in the last reign, and which required a declaration to be taken from every accused person, within twenty-four hours after his arrest, many of the patriots were kept in solitary confinement for several months, without being permitted to see one of the judges, much less to learn the cause of their incarceration.

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* These are very voluminous, and were it not for the greater part relating to matters of more local interest, they deserve to be known throughout Europe, as furnishing a proof of the dreadful state of Spain at the commencement of the Nineteenth Century.

These notes are however, replete with highly useful information, and amongst other matters, relative to the illegality of the commissions appointed to try the deputies, the author proves to demonstration, they could only be legally arraigned by their Peers.

It is worthy of remark that two of the commissioners, Galiano and Villela, in addition to their having sworn the constitutional oath as members of Cortes, and held places of trust under the Regency, were not only loud in their praises of the new code, but foremost in signing addresses of congratulation when it was promulgated. As to de Leyva, he belonged to the Council of the Indies, one of the first bodies in the state that recognized the national sovereignty as decreed by Cortes, although the acknowledgment of this imprescriptible right, was the chief crime attributed to the prisoners.

The vexations and inquisitorial nature of this unexampled prosecution, was strongly exemplified in the cases of Don Manuel Cepero and Ruiz de

Padron, two of the most respectable ecclesiastics of Spain, and both greatly distinguished as members of Cortes. In consequence of Villela's letter to the Captain General of Andalusia, emissaries were sent to tamper with the house-keeper and domestics of the former, at Seville, where he had a rectorship; these were directed to collect all the particulars of his past life; mode of passing his time; who were his visitors; whether he frequented places of public worship, or read mass at home; and if so, whether his servants were allowed to be present? On the failure of this scrutiny, Chaperon, the person who was employed to conduct it, sought for those who had left the service of Cepero many years before, and offered them a reward, if they would consent to betray their old master. When, after an imprisonment of five months, his brother came a distance of nearly two hundred miles to concert means of providing for his subsistence, he was denied admittance and obliged to return without seeing his relative. It was not till the seventh month of his confinement that this persecuted deputy could obtain permission to communicate with his friends, and then only for an hour each day, while the favour did not extend beyond the individuals of his own family!

The venerable Ruiz de Padron, who had been returned to Cortes by the inhabitants of the Canary Islands, was denounced in a furious rescript of Ximenes, bishop of Astorga, as one of the *liber-*

ales, a declared enemy of the King, and disobedient to the Sovereign Pontiff: his celebrated *dictamen*, or speech on the abolition of the holy office, a masterpiece of eloquence and sound reasoning, was also apostrophized as a scandalous breach of church discipline, meriting the severest punishment; when at a subsequent period of his persecution, and after a rigorous detention of seven months, his examination commenced, the principal questions put by the legal inquisitor were: In what part of Cadiz and Madrid he had resided while in those cities; with whom he corresponded; what his expenditure was, and where the money came from; whether he had been sick, and who were his medical attendants; also, if he was not the friend of Arguelles? When asked whether he had sworn to maintain the Constitution, he replied in the affirmative, upon which the fiscal Don Rafael Sanz, turning to the judge, observed, "well, that's more than I shall do, or his eminence either!"

Ruiz de Padron remained in prison nearly a twelvemonth before he was allowed any communication with his family, or friends, while the whole sum received for his support, from the profits of his income as Abbot of Villa Martin, was one hundred dollars, or about twenty pounds sterling, and this only after he had been imprisoned fifteen months! Sentenced to perpetual seclusion in the Convent of Cabeza de Alba, situated in a desart, confiscation of his property and loss of all his benefices; also to pay costs of suit, on the 2nd November,

1815. This virtuous character was indebted to the intrepidity of the metropolitan fiscal Don Anselmo Isla, and Don Manuel Vidante, judge of the ecclesiastical court, for his liberty a year after he had been conducted to the Convent. It was reserved for the first to expose the enormous and scandalous injustice of the whole process; while Vidante, alike indifferent to the menaces of the mitred oppressor, and the influence of the servile faction, declared the trial and sentence null and void, absurd, vexatious and illegal. The bold integrity of these men, whose names deserve to be recorded in letters of gold, neither put a stop to the persecution of Padron, nor prevented those who passed the sentence from being most liberally rewarded for their iniquity.*

In the course of Cepero's interrogatory, which continued at intervals for some days, the judge appointed to receive what he called the prisoner's confession, produced a bundle of papers, recently drawn from a privy, and unfolding the contents, demanded in a threatening tone, whether the astonished patriot recognised them? To this question, Cepero replied by inquiring where the papers had been found? "In your own house!" fiercely rejoined the judge, and raising his voice to a still higher pitch, while the prisoner vainly endeavoured to restrain his laughter, added, "aye! and what is more, they contain your criminal correspondence with the provinces; I therefore desire you will instantly examine and acknowledge them to be yours." "All I know of these documents," answered Cepero, "is that they are as likely to have come out of your house as mine; but wherever they may have been found, rest assured I shall not touch them." Assuming a fiercer attitude and more authoritative tone, the judicial sage proceeded: "Come, Sir, confess at once your treasonable and depraved views; hatred to the King, and connection with atheists, deists, jansenists, jacobins, and free masons, are fully developed in the papers before me." Having continued some time longer in a similar strain, without, however, pointing out any of the guilty passages, a more desultory conversation followed, and when pressed rather closely by the prisoner, this dignified agent of the faction was forced to admit that no part of the writing could be distinguished; thence entering into greater familiarity with the prisoner, he detailed the mode in which these *odoriferous* documents were recovered under his own immediate inspection, adding the number of days he had been occupied in striving to decypher their contents, and the necessity under which he was placed, of producing them on the present occasion: "at all events," concluded the judge, "his Majesty cannot fail to applaud my zeal, if he does not reward my services!"*

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*The electors of Gallicia have testified their sense of the talents and sufferings of Ruiz de Padron, by returning him as one of the deputies for that patriotic Province, in the present Cortes. Sepero, is also a member, and both have given proofs that their energies in the cause of freedom are still unabated.

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[*] If collected, the depositions, informers, confessions, and correspondence connected with this famous persecution, would form one of the most curious and interesting volumes extant, while it furnished an admirable illustration of legal procedure in this country and Spanish jurisprudence generally, previous to the recent change: what is styled taken, the confession, most probably owes its origin to the well known practice of the holy office. A certain number of questions being prepared by the fiscal, an officer whose functions correspond with those of our attorney-general, he proceeds to the prison, or other place of confinement, accompanied by a judge, clerks, &c. The culprit being brought up, each question is put, and his answers noted; these are afterwards intended to form a part of the accusation, if unfavourable to the prisoner. Contrary to that more rational spirit of English law, which does not admit of self crimination, the interrogatories put by a judge in this country, were generally so framed, that by answering them in the affirmative a person was sure to become his own accuser. If there happened to be any of a different tendency, they seemed to be introduced only for the purpose of leading the unwary astray.

The examination of the deputies of Cortes, were all arranged on this principle: that of Don Joachen Villanueva, which did not take place till he had been more than a year confined in the prisons of Madrid, contained forty-two questions, of which a few will be sufficient to convey an idea of the whole. He was asked, whether he knew, or conjectured what was the cause of his arrest? If, while a member of Cortes, he had made any declaration against that sovereignty which the deponent said he had always and still recognised in his Majesty, Ferdinand VII.? Whether he had ever been arrested, summoned, or otherwise molested by the judicial authority before? If he had not maintained the sovereignty of the people, by his speeches and votes in Cortes?

Agustin Arguelles, whose popularity and influence in the Cortes had rendered him particularly hateful to the faction, was also harassed in every imaginable way: a day seldom passed without his being made the object of some slanderous story, or scurrilous invective in the servile journals. As a proof of the ignorance and folly which marked the proceedings against this eloquent patriot, an arabic memorandum, found in his papers, was specified in the act of accusation, as being closely connected with the far-famed republican project; when translated, the mystical document proved to have been written by Jhachi Abdequeriu, a Moor, who visited the Peninsula in 1796, stating that he was, (thanks to the Prophet and his friends) well and happy, had enough to eat and drink, and was in other respects perfectly satisfied with his situation! This important communication was dated in the year of Mahomet, 1211, and addressed to a gentleman, whose name, equally unintelligible to christian ears, yet seemed, in this respect, to bear some affinity to that of the writer, viz: Jhachi Almati Boasi, by whom it was to be

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If he had not voted for article III. of the constitution, which declares that "the sovereignty essentially resides with the people?" Whether the deponent had not occasionally influenced or co-operated in promoting the riots and disorders of the galleries? Had he not contributed to restrain the liberty of speech on the part of certain deputies, and did he not vote for the liberty of the press in South America? &c.

handed to Jhachi Elmoti Boasida, probably a common friend of the parties. Such, however, joking apart, were the miserable expedients resorted to in the course of this prosecution, that these insignificant lines served as a pretext for increasing the charges, even before the judges had any conception of their meaning!

The treatment of Canga Arguelles, who had also displayed considerable talents and industry as a member of Cortes, was of the most cruel description. Thrown into a dungeon, hitherto appropriated to malefactors of the worst kind, he was suffered to remain shut out from light and air, deprived of books, or the sight of a single friend, till the month of September, when, falling dangerously ill from harsh usage, and the excessive dampness of his cell, it was with the utmost difficulty, and not before several strong representations were made to the commission, on the fatal consequences that must have resulted from a longer confinement in such a place, he got himself removed to a military quarter, that had been converted into a prison for the patriots. Here, he obtained permission to walk in the court-yard, and along the galleries, but owing to the calumnies and intrigues of Don Miguel Lardizabal, Secretary of State for the Colonies, this privilege was withdrawn, and the suffering deputy again confined to the limits of his barrack room. Previous to his final sentence, Canga Arguelles was destined to experience still greater indignities, through the machinations of

Lardizabal, who, by the aid of a newly invented conspiracy, alledged by him to have been planned since the arrest of the patriots, and having the dethronement of Ferdinand for its object, caused five of the prisoners to be shut up in a room heretofore occupied by a company of invalids, but which was not even swept to receive them. The object of this measure was, for the purpose of introducing an agent of the servile faction, who, being formally arrested as a supposed liberal, continued to live with the deputies for some time, making daily reports of their conversations and all other occurrences to Lardizabal, until at length the infamous trick was discovered, and the fiscal appointed to inquire into the facts, declared there was no ground for a prosecution.*

Instances of the vexation and wanton cruelty exercised towards the prisoners, might be cited in abundance; in truth, those I have noticed convey but a feeble idea of the inhumanity manifested throughout the whole proceedings, judging from the concurrent statements of Ruiz de Padron, Villanueva, Bernabeu, and various other writers whom I have had occasion to consult, as well as a great mass of verbal testimony collected since my arrival, the instruments employed to carry the proscription into effect, whether princes or ministers, priests, judges, or jailors, seem to have vied with each other in torturing their unhappy victims, and aggravating the evils naturally attendant on such a deplorable state of things.

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* Lardizabal continued to torment and oppress the patriots till the month of August, 1816, when he met with the usual reward conferred by despotism, disgrace and exile!

As a variety of other incidents relative to the conduct of the police judges, and their successors, remain to be communicated before the result of their labours is noticed, it becomes necessary to continue this painful subject in a future letter.

LETTER V.

Royal orders in favour of the Patriots.—Tergiversation of the Judges.—Their admissions.—Fresh Arrests. First Report of the Commission.—Professions of Zeal and Sincerity.—*Consulta and Quadernos*.—Some account of these Documents.—Reflections suggested by them.—Charges contained in the Quadernos.—Appeal to Foreign Powers.—Hall of Alcaldes.—Conduct of Arias Prada.—Second Commission named.—Its Character and Proceedings.—Disgrace of Macanaz, San Carlos, and Escoiquiz.—Appointment of Cevallos; his Memorial to the King.—Persecution continued.—A third Commission appointed.—New Charges.—Anecdote of Don Antonio de Segovia.—Condemnation of the Patriots.—Apathy of the Foreign Ministers at Madrid.

Madrid, July, 1820.

WHETHER it arose from a wish on the part of those who surrounded the King, to conceal their real designs against the patriots, by assuming an appearance of moderation; or, as Villanueva and others of the liberal party have suggested, Ferdinand himself began to see through the iniquitous views of his advisers; he caused a letter to be addressed to the judges on the 28th of May, desiring to be informed, if, conformably to the laws, of which he had enjoined such a strict observance, they were prepared to liberate the state prisoners; adding that the approaching festival of St. Ferdinand* afforded a plausible pretence for their discharge. As a farther proof of the King's sincerity upon this occasion, the letter directed that, in case the judges could not recommend the immediate enlargement of all the accused, a list should be sent to him, of those to whom, from the lightness of their offences, that favour might be extended; as, his Majesty felt extremely anxious to celebrate the anniversary of his tutelar saint by this particular act of grace.

In reply to the above royal order, so creditable to the personal sentiments of Ferdinand, Villela and his associates observed that, "neither the quality of their crimes, nor actual state of the summaries and justifications, permitted the release of persons charged with such weighty offences, without departing from that justice which his Majesty had so strenuously recommended!" Amongst the numerous other sophistries of this epistle, it confessed, that, although the trials were in progress, yet, owing to the complicated nature of the cases, the commission was still unable to form a correct opinion on them; one of the alledged causes of delay stated, that the prisoners had been some days in custody before the judges knew what were the specific crimes which led to their arrest. It was indeed evident, from the vague and contradictory tenor of the whole composition, that both Villela and his coadjutors were quite unprepared for this pressing appeal in favour of the patriots, and therefore only sought how they could best frustrate the wishes of the monarch, by endeavouring to give a semblance of equity to their proceedings.

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* This occurs on the 30th of May, and has been generally marked by some act of beneficence, emanating directly from the Sovereign.

It has been justly remarked, that these men had now an excellent plea for putting an end to the proscription, by at once acknowledging the illegality of the arrests, and innocence of the prisoners. Such an act of candour, would, however, have been no less contrary to their own vindictive characters, than inconsistent with the policy of their rulers, who had determined to govern by violence and injustice. Accordingly, the letter of the judges concludes by observing that, the most they could do towards fulfilling the benignant intentions of his Majesty, was to change the place of confinement, by transferring some of the accused from the public prisons to their houses, where they would continue in equal security till called upon for trial. It next remained for the commission to transmit a list of those whom it considered as worthy of the proposed indulgence: when this reached the palace, and was laid before Ferdinand, it contained the names of five obscure individuals, of which, two happened to be comedians, whose immediate services were required at one of the principal theatres!

In consequence of the foregoing representation, which left no alternative to the credulous Prince, it was natural for him to acquiesce in the decision of his judges, supported as their statement must have been, by those around him; Macanaz, therefore, lost no time in signifying his Majesty's pleasure, that the prisoners should be retained till further information should afford a better opportunity of exercising the royal clemency. Although prevailed upon to relinquish the intended act of grace, the King's impatience to see the trials ended does not seem to have abated; for a second letter was forwarded to Villela only three days after, expressing the utmost anxiety on the part of Ferdinand to have them brought to a conclusion, and directing that no efforts should be spared to abridge delay, consistently with the practice of the courts and forms of justice. It appeared from their answer to this communication that the judges had nothing so much at heart as tranquillizing the mind of his Majesty on the delicate points submitted to their investigation, after alluding to the circumstance of their not having received any orders to commence proceedings before the 20th May, the arbitrary nature of the prosecution was made still more apparent by their stating that, as the royal order which directed the trial of the prisoners to proceed, merely on the facts to be drawn from their papers, had not led to the discovery of any documents upon which a process could be instituted according to law, they were since that day incessantly occupied in the examination of witnesses and applying to various deputies for statements relative to the want of freedom experienced during the debates of Cortes; also concerning the tumults in the galleries, and other matters of importance to the King's service. As if this flagrant departure from their instructions was perfectly regular, and they considered themselves fully authorised to seek other means of criminating the patriots, than those specified in the royal order, the judges proceeded to state that, as the *informés* related to the acts and debates of Cortes generally, they required to be examined with more leisure. Referring to the witnesses whose verbal testimonies had been received and depositions taken, it was ingeniously admitted, that the vague or general assertions of the witnesses rendered it impossible to rely on all their allegations. "We cannot," say they, in closing their second letter to Macanaz, "forget that love of justice and the laws manifested by the King in all his sovereign decrees; and this rectitude on the part of his Majesty pledges our delicacy the more not to swerve from the usual forms and order of passing judgment, as well as to respect in their utmost extent the rights of the accused, although his Majesty is aware of the delay and torpor which attend cases of this kind when conducted upon such austere principles!"

So far from the disposition of Ferdinand, as shewn by this correspondence, producing the smallest effect in favour of the prisoners, it seems rather to have impelled the faction to new acts of violence. A list of those deputies who were present at the installation of the first Cortes, in 1810, together with a copy of the oath prescribed on that occasion, having been transmitted to Villela on the 9th June, soon became the ground-work of fresh charges against the deputies. One of these set forth that they had exceeded their powers in voting for the constitution! Having devoted a few days to the consideration of his newly acquired materials, and examined several additional witnesses, suborned by the agents employed for that purpose, Villela issued his warrant of arrest against forty-five more individuals, whose imprisonment was followed by the seizure of their papers and sequestration of all their property.

Here it should be observed, that a royal order of the 5th June, directing that the causes were to be forthwith transferred to the Hall of Alcaldes, or chief criminal court of Madrid, there to be substantiated, and sentence passed according to law, was not answered before the 30th. This reply, like those already noticed, was also a tissue of falsehood and sophistry, in which the judges gravely asserted, that a fear of exceeding their instructions, and anxiety strictly to adhere to the laws, had, notwithstanding their extreme eagerness on the subject, alone prevented them from proceeding with greater celerity. To prove their zeal, a list of the pending trials, together with some account of the progress made in each, accompanied the letter, which concluded by assuring Macanaz, to whom it was addressed, that they were occupied night and day with this important investigation. " We have the satisfaction to assure your excellency," add the judges, " that when the papers sent herewith are examined, his Majesty will perceive the extent of our solicitude and vigilance." Neither these valuable qualities, for which Villela had the modesty to give himself credit, nor his fulsome adulations and promises, seem, however, to have satisfied Ferdinand, whose final attempt to produce some impression on the judges, was made on the 1st July. It came from Macanaz, through the Duke del Infantado, president of the council of Castile, and contained a peremptory order of the King, that the trials should be concluded and sentence pronounced on all those accused of conspiring against his authority, within the precise period of four days.

All that I have hitherto said in illustration of the deceit and hypocrisy of these judges, is perfectly insignificant when compared to the arguments and assertions brought forward in their answer to the above royal order. As, however, you must have, ere this, been enabled to form a tolerable estimate of their character, it would be superfluous to trouble you with a minute analysis of their remaining labours. After alluding to the thankless office they had undertaken, and the numerous vexations it occasioned them, great surprise was expressed by the judges, that his Majesty should be dissatisfied with their exertions. It was next added, that the King's orders had filled them with the most painful concern, in as much as they found it totally impossible to comply with his wishes. In addition to the causes of delay previously assigned, relative to the want of documents and complication of the cases, they alledged the necessity of examining twenty-one volumes, containing the debates and decrees of Cortes, also the various periodical works and newspapers published during the war, not to mention the time occupied in procuring information from various and distant parts of the kingdom in which the "crimes were committed." Having, by infinite pains and the most absolute self-denial, succeeded in completing the chief portion of their work, they were about to lay the result at the feet of his Majesty, together with such observations and suggestions as the commission thought best calculated to accelerate the final termination of the trials: it being, however, physically impossible to fulfil the royal order, since there was not time enough given to read the documents, they saw with sorrow that they no longer enjoyed the confidence of their sovereign. Yet, notwithstanding the consternation into which his orders had thrown the judges, were it possible to put those orders into effect, they would make the attempt, even at the expense of their lives:

convinced of its impracticability, their only consolation was derived from reflecting, that his Majesty would name others, capable of executing his orders with greater promptitude!

Supposing the King to have been a mere passive instrument in most of these transactions, and that his want of experience induced him to believe in the sincerity of the judges, he was not likely to resist such an appeal, evidently drawn up to ensnare a weak mind, and closing, as it did, with the disinterested tender of their resignation. Macanaz, therefore, addressed the commission next day, assuring the members that his Majesty was satisfied with their conduct, and desired they would persevere, so as to conclude the trials without loss of time.

Having continued their exertions, and most probably restricted their intended comments, as if determined to surprise Ferdinand in his turn, the gigantic labours of the commission really did end on the 6th July, when its *Consulta*, or, in other words, act of accusation was transmitted to the minister of grace and justice. Previous to the final delivery of this memorable document, several of the prisoners expressed a wish of being permitted to address the King, on the illegality of the proceedings and injustice of their detention. To this application Macanaz replied, that, if they had any thing to say, his Majesty wished it to come through the judges. Slender as their hopes of producing a favourable change from having to submit their grievances to such hands must have been, many availed themselves of the occasion thus afforded; they drew up a memorial, enumerating the sacrifices they had made during the war, to preserve the throne, and refuting the calumnies circulated by their enemies, and this memorial, which ended with a prayer that his Majesty would give directions for their immediate discharge, was sent to the judges, with a request that they might be laid before the Monarch; the writer had every reason to believe their statements never reached the palace; be this as it may, no answer whatever was returned either by the commission or Macanaz.

With respect to the Consulta, it professed to give a detailed account of all the judges had done, from their arrest of the patriots up to the day of its date, and was accompanied by five *Quadernos*, or distinct bundles of papers, containing a history of the most remarkable occurrences which marked the proceedings of both Cortes, together with a list of those deputies who were distinguished for their innovating opinions.* Instead, however, of these voluminous documents leading to a decision, or clearing up the question they were intended to elucidate, a field of endless delay was opened to future commissions. If indeed we except the more enlarged form given to the calumnies of the servile faction, those others suggested by the malevolence of the judges, and that unintelligible legal jargon in which they were clothed, Villela and his assistants left the subject in a state of much greater intricacy than ever. Although the Consulta and its accompaniments, any more than a persecution, in the existence of which, under all the circumstances of the case, posterity will scarcely believe, are unworthy of a serious examination; yet, for the interests of truth, and as an illustration of the judicial procedure practiced in this country for centuries, it may not be altogether useless shortly to state a few of the gross errors and wilful falsehoods in which these judges constantly indulge throughout the above reports.

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* Opiniones novadoras.

As truly observed by Villanueva, the judges neither informed the King of what he ought to have known, answered that which was demanded of them, nor fulfilled a single royal order, although the imputed crime of attacking Ferdinand's sovereignty was clearly specified in all the letters of Macanaz. It was carefully avoided in the Consulta and *Quadernos*, for the very plain reason: that had the proceedings of Cortes on this matter been discussed, many of those who had instigated the prosecution of the patriots would have been much more deeply implicated in it than the prisoners. The only way, therefore, to save their friends from being compromised, was for the judges to evade the tenor of the royal orders, and comment on points to which these had not made the slightest allusion. By assuming this monstrous privilege, suborning witnesses who were ready to say whatever the accusers chose to dictate; calling upon the personal enemies of the deputies for denunciations against them, and only selecting those transactions of the Cortes which suited their purpose, every facility was afforded for criminating the prisoners; yet, with such extensive means, were all their crimes qualified under the vague denomination of "innovating opinions."

I have already had occasion to notice the admissions of Villela in his replies to Macanaz, those contained in the first paragraph of the Consulta were not less palpable, and afford an excellent specimen of that composition, while they furnish a more ample justification of the patriots than their warmest advocates could produce. It is admitted that the prisoners having been arrested by virtue of a royal order, unsupported by any documents to be found in the *Segretarias*, or other public offices of government; and there being no possibility of instituting a trial on the papers seized, the judges solicited further instructions; that in reply to this application, they were desired to commence a prosecution from the evidence already in their possession; that the injunctions of his Majesty, strictly to observe the laws, had placed them in a situation of great difficulty and embarrassment; and that although it had been necessary to infringe on them, they nevertheless came forward as having executed the sovereign will, which had uniformly enjoined a close adherence to those laws.

In their usual strain of quibbling equivocation, the judges express a wish that the prompt and exemplary chastisement of those, said to have meditated the overthrow and derangement of the State, could have been rendered compatible with his Majesty's intentions, love of justice and the laws. Thus to invoke punishment without proving delinquency, seems to have been perfectly correct in the estimation of these men, who to the foregoing charitable prayer, add their desire that the people could have witnessed a public demonstration of justice against those who could have been the authors of a project which had menaced the nation with such disasters and misfortune!

Pursuing their arduous and painful task, all those acts of the Cortes which had regenerated Spain, enabling it to sustain an expensive and harassing contest, under innumerable disadvantages, were passed in review and examined by the commission. Measures which had been productive of such memorable triumphs and signal benefits within the Peninsula, and that excited the admiration of all Europe, were however regarded in a very different light by the judges. This will be more clearly explained by the following enumeration of what, according to the statements of the Consulta and Quadernos, constituted the crimes of the prisoners and that party of which they were considered as the organs. In the first, they were charged with having declared the renunciations made at Bayonne, in 1808, as null and void; asserting that the nation possessed an essential and imprescriptible right of sovereignty; also, for leading the people astray by the imaginary advantages of liberty and equality. It is scarcely necessary to repeat, that Ferdinand had formally resigned all title to the crown soon after his arrival in France, and that the decree of Cortes which annulled the stipulations entered into with Napoleon, pronounced him to be the only legitimate King of Spain. It is also worthy of remark, that in proclaiming the sovereignty of the people, the Cortes merely followed an example shown by the highest authorities in church and state, as this important truth had been already established by the council of Castile in its public addresses to the nation, and by the bishops of Orense* and Santander.

The Quadernos embracing a wider range, commenced with an attack on the national juntas, those spirited associations which first roused the dormant energies of the people; these were represented as leading to a real oligarchy, while the central junta, nominated by them, was nothing more than a mis-shapen government. It is next stated, that with this enlightened body and the first Regency, originated the accumulation of evils in which the country had so long fluctuated. The Cortes of 1810 were said to have been precipitately assembled by a faction composed of a small number, who caused themselves to be elected for places occupied by the enemy; and that a few, taking the majority by surprise, had adopted the system of the French encyclopedists, particularly in sanctioning the dangerous principle of national sovereignty. The unmeaning cries of independence, personal liberty, inalienable rights, and similar phrases, also resounded through the hall of Cortes, and were re-echoed by the factious in the streets and coffee-houses of Cadiz, as well as in the journals and periodical works published under the imposing appellation of *liberal.* The liberty of the press was proclaimed, and soon became the vehicle of revolutionary doctrines. The prisoners and their friends were moreover distinguished for the boldness with which they violated the ancient institutions of the monarchy, attacking the rights and dignity of the King, and establishing what they styled "fundamental laws," as if there had been any scarcity of such laws under the old government! Amongst the other offences of the prisoners, they had adopted the constitutional code without sufficient deliberation, and on various occasions usurped the powers of the executive. Those who had been paid for creating disturbances in the galleries were allowed to remain unpunished; they had also authorized the publication of newspapers, periodical and other works subversive of good order, tolerating revolutionary clubs, gaining over public opinion by bribery, and taking the monies thus appropriated from the revenues of the Royal Family. They altered the old mode of levying taxes, and introduced a new system of Finance.* The last of these weighty charges I shall mention, was founded on the decree of February 2nd, 1814, prescribing that Ferdinand should not exercise the royal authority before he had accepted the constitution, and sworn to maintain it inviolate.

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* Don Pedro Querdo, who was afterwards censured by the Cortes for his opposition to the constitution, which he thought too liberal. The conduct of this prelate, in appealing to the clemency of Ferdinand in favour of those officers who were concerned in Porlier's glorious attempt, is said to have redeemed his political heresies as a constitutionalist. The Bishop of Santander was amongst the number of those prelates who joined the armies, and fought with them during the war against France.

The conclusion of the report corresponds very exactly with its commencement. In addition to the foregoing catalogue of crimes imputed to the liberal party in Cortes, and upon which the judges say they have touched very lightly, it is asserted that many other facts of an equally criminal nature, may be found in the journals published under their immediate patronage, and in the act of accusation preparing against those deputies who frequented the house of Count Noblejas,* at Cadiz, as well as from the inquiry still carrying on by the Captain General of Andalusia; but upon the result of which the commission cannot yet hazard an opinion. At all events, say the judges, "this imperfect statement will give a tolerable notion of the importance of these proceedings." Having thus brought forward whatever they conceived likely to irritate the King and subdue his sentiments in favour of the patriots, the commission declines passing a final judgment, as the affair is not in a state to admit of their coming to a positive decision. The judges are aware that policy requires measures of greater promptness and efficacy; but this is one reason why they stand in need of the information necessary to decide with certainty in such a matter. This gratuitous remark concerning what policy demanded, was followed by another, which proves how little the judge thought the case of the prisoner connected either with law or justice, although both were so frequently invoked. "What more can we add," says the report, "than that this affair not only requires an acquaintance with the state of public opinion in the Peninsula, but also a knowledge of *our relations with the other powers of Europe!*"

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* The Cortes had wisely substituted direct for indirect taxation.

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* A distinguished member of the Cortes, arrested on the 10th of May. His house had been much resorted to by the patriots, who even opened a subscription there for supporting the constitution, and prosecuting those guilty of any infractions on the new code

The above singular avowal opens a wide field of conjecture as to the share which certain diplomatists of foreign courts are said to have had in the origin and progress of this persecution. With respect to the public opinion referred to by the judges, it is hardly necessary to add, they well knew it had been transferred from the people to De Castro, Torre Musquiz, and their assistants, who never suffered a day to pass without publicly exulting in the prospect of speedily seeing the sword of justice fall on the necks of the traitors; and admiring the excessive clemency of Ferdinand, for indulging the iniquitous wretches with the forms of a trial, since he could, as natural lord of these realms, send them to the scaffold without even hearing what they had to say in their defence!

As if the judges felt that this appeal to public opinion and foreign powers was calculated to startle the monarch, they attempt to render it more palatable by observing, that however misplaced such an indication appeared, it might, in their judgment, be very closely interwoven with the subject on which they had been treating. The commission had, therefore, confined itself to a plain statement of the facts, in order that his Majesty, by comparing them with those which must be known to government, in and out of the kingdom, might then decide on what was most useful and necessary for the tranquillity of the state under existing circumstances.

After having set out with the solemn assurance, that "in pursuing the delicate and thorny path traced for them, the most rigid principles of rectitude had been their constant guide, the judges could not do less than conclude, by supplicating his Majesty benignantly to accept the imperfect representation of their labours, in the punctual fulfilment of his sovereign resolutions."

Leaving you to ponder on the chaos of quibbling and contradiction, hypocrisy and falsehood, exhibited by these men, and of which I have only given a very inadequate description, it remains for me to inform you how the Consulta and Quadernos were next disposed of. Although it would doubtless have been infinitely more congenial to the wishes of the ministers and servile faction, had the judges completed their work by passing sentence on the prisoners; a case was at least made out against them, which could not, in the estimation of their enemies, fail to produce an immediate condemnation in the hall of Alcaldes. Full of hope on the subject, the papers were sent to that tribunal by Macanaz on the 9th, and the patriots handed over to the care of Arias Prada, the governor or president, who from the rigour with which he at first treated them (causing the prison windows to be shut in the middle of summer, to prevent escape, and prohibiting all communications with their friends), seemed entirely devoted to the faction, and perfectly ready to forward its views. It however proved otherwise: for the Quadernos had only been a few days under consideration, when a counter-consulta is said to have issued from the hall of Alcaldes, addressed to the King, showing that there was no ground for proceeding any farther in the trials, and stating that all the prisoners should be instantly set at liberty. Though withheld from the public, the existence of this important testimony in favour of the patriots, and proof of integrity in the judges, is not doubted by the best informed persons here, while a number of subsequent incidents tend to confirm the fact. Most probably aware of the opposition to be encountered in higher quarters, Prada drew up a second report, intended to strengthen the general decision; but finding it impossible to prevail on the immediate advisers of Ferdinand to acquiesce in his proposal, it became a subject of warm debate in the council of Castile, where some were for its adoption, while others thought it should be deferred for the present. The final determination of the council is still a secret. Whatever it might have been, the persecuting spirit of the ministers was not to be turned aside by the timidity of one tribunal, or the firmness of another. Steady in their purpose of revenge, and resolved that the patriots should not escape, a new commission for the "more speedy termination of these causes," was named on the 14th of September. This was composed of five individuals, of whom, Arteage, Captain General of the province of Madrid, as President, the Count del Pinar, and Galiano, who figured in the first, were the principal members. The incompetence of such a junta, made up of persons either totally ignorant of legal procedure or known for their want of principle and enmity to the prisoners, was so notorious that, in consequence of a representation made by Calatrava, exposing the manifest injustice of their nomination, Mosquere, one of the party, resigned, and would have most likely been followed by the rest, if they had possessed any sense of honour or propriety.

The numerous and unanswerable objections brought against the commission, were no doubt its best titles to confidence on the part of those by whom it was appointed, and the result proves they were not wrong in their calculations, for a more subservient tribunal could not well have been formed, as, though only established on the 14th, it pronounced various sentences on the 22nd.* These being confirmed by his Majesty, or rather his spiritual and temporal advisers, were posted up on the walls of the capital, *in terrorem* to the friends of freedom and humanity, who had not as yet experienced the resentment of the faction.

Although the mode of proceeding adopted by the new commission, was in the highest degree cruel, arbitrary and illegal, such indeed as might naturally be expected from men who could undertake a task of this nature, they could not, if ever so well disposed, attempt to pass sentence on the deputies so soon after the hall of Alcaldes had recommended their liberation. While, therefore, Sendoquis, the fiscal appointed to assist in carrying on the prosecution, was, together with a number of inferior agents, occupied in amplifying the charges and devising the best means of putting off the trials to an indefinite period, the attention of the judges was directed to victims of a less exalted rank; these were principally selected from the mercantile, legal, and military professions, and though the punishment awarded, did not extend beyond the gallies, fine, exile and imprisonment, the system pursued towards the sufferers, proved, that the commission would have consigned them to a scaffold with as little ceremony as they were sent to the noisome prisons of Africa, or stript of their property. Incredible as the fact may appear, many of the individuals thus condemned, were not told what crime they had committed, nor was it even expressed in their sentences! Some had to pay heavy costs of suit, and were admonished to amend their future conduct, taking care not to excite the suspicions which led to their being prosecuted, others were condemned, merely because they happened to be on the list of accused, while a third class of delinquents, after several months of close confinement, and being put to a great expense, were warned, not to give any cause of doubting their love for the sovereign, and attachment to the ancient institutions of the monarchy. Ineffectual as any efforts, however eloquent, to defend those who were subjected to such a tribunal must have been, it was with extreme difficulty that a counsel for the patriots could obtain a hearing: to complete this scene, one lawyer was severely reprimanded, and another fined to a considerable amount, for endeavouring, with too much zeal, to prove the innocence of their clients!

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* Its first measure was to order the sequestration of all property belonging to the accused which had not shared that fate already.

Having, at length, found a set of men who were prepared to realize the most sanguine hopes of the servile faction, there was no longer any obstacle opposed to the persecution, which now became an integral part of the system of government; a week seldom elasped without new condemnations, and fresh arrests: no sooner had one party been sent off to distant prisons, or plundered of their property, than their places in the dungeons of the capital were supplied by others, destined in their turn to share a similar fate. The commission was insatiable, and like the idol of Jaggernaut, every additional victim only seemed to create a thirst for more;

As if increase of appetite had grown
On what it fed!——

Somewhat timid in its first assaults on the lives, liberty, and substance of the people, the commission acquired confidence with time, as a list of twenty-one patriots, promulgated early in December, included persons of the highest rank, and most distinguished talents in Spain; amongst others, Villamarino, Regato, Garcia, and Manriqua, literary characters and professors of eminence, who had written in favour of liberal principles during the war of independence; also General Moscoso and Colonel Landabaru, both officers of great merit; of these, some were condemned to death, the rest to the gallies for eight and ten years. Senderos and Yriarte, the constitutional Alcaldes of Cadiz, were at the same time mulcted to a very large amount, and consigned to the gallies.

It was but a short time before the publication of the above sentence, that a warrant of arrest had been issued against the Count de Cemera Yandiola, a deputy of Cortes, Garcia, director of the Philippine company, General Alava,* late aid-de-camp to Lord Wellington, and many others of equal note.

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* When arrested, this distinguished officer was on the point of setting off to the court of Belgium, at which he was ambassador for Spain; his imprisonment did not last many days; the influence of his friends having caused his almost immediate release. The zeal manifested by General Alava since the re-establishment of the constitution, proves him to have been a very fit object of persecution to its enemies.

Previous to your being informed of the fate which awaited the Regents and deputies, I ought to mention the unexpected disgrace of Macanaz; this event occurred on the 7th of November, when Ferdinand went to his house in person, ordered a seal to be put on all his papers, and sent him to prison. It was not, however, until the 25th that the extent of his punishment, or nature of his crimes were made known; a royal order, perfectly original in its kind, was then published, in which Ferdinand reviews the conduct of those who accompanied him during his absence, and after bestowing praise upon some, acknowledges that others had betrayed the confidence reposed in them, particularly Don Pedro Macanaz, against whom numberless serious complaints had been made at different times; but such was the opinion entertained of him by the King, that he would not listen to them before he had convinced himself of the minister's perfidy. Having detected proofs of guilt, meriting a much severer chastisement, his Majesty was determined to cut the evil at the root, and therefore ordered that he should be dismissed from the ministry, deprived of all his honours, and confined in the castle of St. Anton, in Galicia, during the royal pleasure.*

It appeared that Macanaz had been detected in acts of the grossest bribery and corruption, disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, and other places of profit; and selling justice or withholding it, in proportion as the applicants came provided with the means of purchase; he had a number of accomplices in the nefarious transactions which disgraced his administration; many of them were named in the decree, and either heavily fined, or banished from Madrid. It was not amongst the least of this minister's crimes, to have repeatedly solicited employment from Joseph Bonaparte, a charge which was also made against the Duke de San Carlos, and old Escoiquiz, both of whom seem to have been involved in the degradation of Macanaz. The first resigned his place as minister of state on the 17th November, and was succeeded by Cevallos, who had actually filled the same office under King Joseph. Escoiquiz, the well known preceptor of Ferdinand, and whose jesuitical principles were so well calculated to vitiate the mind of his pupil, was sent to Zaragoza.*

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* Don Thomas Moyano, Counsellor of State, and a man of irreproachable character, was appointed to succeed the discarded minister.

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* Some have attributed the sudden dismissal of the abovenamed advisers of Ferdinand to the circumstance of their having been recently denounced as candidates for place on Joseph's accession to the throne; this fact was stated in a work published at Paris, by M. Amoros, one of the new king's ministers. Though Escoiquiz contrived to keep out of sight after the King's return, he is considered as having stimulated the persecution of the patriots with scarcely less zeal than Ostolaza, and De Castro.

With respect to Macanaz, accumulated as were his crimes, persons who had an opportunity of personally witnessing the transactions of that period, have assured me, his guilt was even exceeded by others filling the highest offices in the state; nay, that with little more address, he would have continued much longer to deceive the infatuated monarch. Such was the man who countersigned the Valencian decree of May 4th, and that of the 30th, against the followers of King Joseph, by which above thirty thousand families were proscribed and robbed of their civil rights!

It was natural to suppose that the removal of three individuals who were considered as amongst the bitterest enemies of the liberal party, would have led to a change of system. Public expectation was in a great measure founded on the appointment of Cevallos: as an experienced diplomatist and shrewd politician, this statesman must have long perceived the fatal tendency of Ferdinand's policy, not to mention its cruelty and injustice; some have asserted that his motive for accepting a place in the ministry, arose rather from a hope of prevailing on the King to adopt principles of moderation than any love of power and emolument.* However this may have been, he is said to have presented a very energetic memorial to Ferdinand towards the end of January, pointing out the ruinous consequences of persevering in a persecution not less revolting to humanity than opposed to the interests of his crown. After using every argument likely to persuade his master, the representation closed with proposing a general amnesty: that all prosecutions for political opinions should cease, and those confined be set at liberty; it was also suggested, that those who had fled or been proscribed should be invited to return, as the only means of restoring tranquillity and regaining the confidence of the people. The proposal is reported to have been very favourably received by Ferdinand, who sent it to the Duke del Infantado, desiring that it might be taken into immediate consideration by the council of Castile. Here it is supposed to have met with great opposition, but individuals resident here at the time have informed me, that the plan was fully approved of in a meeting of the ministers, at which Ferdinand himself presided, and that the intrigues of Ostolaza and De Castro, aided by certain members of the council, alone prevented it from being carried into effect.

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* I have heard it mentioned as a positive fact, that an order for the arrest of Cevallos had been issued only a few hours previous to his nomination; so nearly had Ferdinand's mode of governing approximated to that of Turkey and Morocco! Although

Though it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile the humane and politic suggestions of Cevallos

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his party carried the day, it is certain that the counsellor of state, Romanillos, his most intimate friend, was amongst the persons arrested some days before.

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with his continuance in office, and even putting his name to decrees of condemnation, after their rejection, he has the credit of having proposed conciliatory measures, and however ineffectually, the effort is entitled to praise.*

If we except the temporary ~~pra~~ise occasioned by the meritorious but ill-fated attempt of Porlier, persecution, plunder and proscription, experienced no material interruption during the whole of 1815, although Count del Pinar, the principal actor in the second commission, and even De Castro, and Ostolaza, were amongst the serviles exiled on the 7th of October. Just after the heroic General's execution, the influence of the faction seems to have remained undiminished; whether Del Pinar and his junior assistants did not feel disposed to pass sentence on the deputies and members of the late government, or were satiated with victims, is not exactly known, but his disgrace was followed by the formation of a third commission, still under the nominal presidency of Arteaga, the captain-general. If the terms of the royal order, dated on the 10th October, are to be credited, this was appointed out of pure compassion to the prisoners, whose long detention required an early decision in their respective cases: it therefore directed that all the trials should be terminated within six weeks, or two months at farthest.

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* Cevallos has been also censured for not opposing a most disgraceful scene that passed at Madrid soon after his coming into office. The servile faction, being desirous of obliterating every trace of the Cortes and patriotic government, collected all the papers and periodical works published during the war, and having prepared a numerous religious procession, proceeded to one of the public squares, and making a pile of the whole, set fire to it amidst the acclamations of the priesthood and their friends, after which high mass, and *Te-deum* were sung with as much fervency as if it had been a real *auto de Fé!*

A new set of charges, amounting to no less than twenty-eight, had been produced since the presentation of the Consulta and Quadernos; when I add that they were drawn up from those precious documents, it is scarcely necessary to enter into a detailed explanation of their contents. Villanueva, says that these charges exhibit infinitely more confusion and intricacy than any hitherto brought forward, and with good reason; for according to some of them, instead of the twenty-three selected for trial, the whole of those members, in all four hundred and forty, who composed both Cortes, were equally culpable, while many of the crimes imputed to the accused were more applicable to various individuals of the three commissions, and particularly to the authors of the *informées*, than to the prisoners. After what you have already seen, it would be only a waste of time, were I to enumerate the endless untruths and monstrous incongruities of this production, which was prepared under the eye of Villela, by Don Antonio de Segovia, a silent but busy actor in the political drama of that day. The character of those engaged to conduct the prosecution, and general nature of the proceedings, cannot, however, be more aptly elucidated, than by the following authentic anecdote.

Amongst the peculiarities connected with this atrocious persecution, it was no uncommon circumstance for lawyers who had been on terms of former intimacy with the prisoners, to take a part in conducting the prosecution. Segovia had been the friend of Oliveros, and having called at the prison of La Corona, where he was confined, the indignant patriot reproached him with the impropriety of preparing a set of charges against men whom he must have known to be innocent; upon which Segovia, by way of justifying his conduct, replied, "I well knew my statement was a mass of illegalities and absurdity, but I drew it up thus on purpose to prove the innocence of the supposed culprits, and make the whole prosecution appear in a stronger light; also, in order that the great numbers compromised by the charges, might induce the judges to relinquish the prosecutions altogether!" Although the veracity of this extraordinary confession seemed to be fully borne out by the statement itself, there was good reason to doubt the sincerity of Segovia; but if the motive assigned was even true, it does not justify the calumnies and falsehoods so unnecessarily introduced by him. Nothing, however, could be too extravagant or absurd for the commissions, so that all the charges of Segovia were received as gospel, and acted on implicitly.

The period prescribed to the third commission having expired, without its coming to any decision relative to the deputies and members of the late government, the patience of their enemies became exhausted, and it was therefore determined that they should be disposed of in a manner *much* more congenial to the spirit and practice of despotism. The ordinary prisons of the Peninsula, those of the Inquisition, and a number of convents, had been filled with victims, many hundreds of whom were condemned and already employed in the public works, or dragging out a miserable existence in the *Presidios** of Africa; but the final triumph of tyranny and oppression over patriotism and virtue was not consummated until the 15th December, 1815, when, a mere royal order of the King, decreed the punishment of nearly seventy individuals, composing what might be considered the soul of the liberal party in Spain.† In addition to the regents, secretaries of state, and deputies, arrested on the arrival of Ferdinand, the decree included a number of generals, civilians, lawyers, and others, who had been most distinguished for their talents and activity during the war. The sentences passed in this summary way, generally extended to imprisonment for periods of four, six, eight, and ten years: those who had been fortunate enough to escape, were either out-lawed or condemned to death: Count Toreno, Mina, and Florez Estrada, were amongst the latter. A few of the sentences will serve to give you some idea of the fate which was reserved for these victims of tyranny. It is probable that a regard to the age, high rank, and extreme popularity of the regents, may have induced the advisers of Ferdinand to be satisfied with merely exiling them to their native places, where they were ordered to remain during the royal pleasure. Of the deputies, Agustin Arguelles was condemned to eight years confinement at Ceuta, and his namesake, Canga Arguelles, to as many at the Castle of Peniscola, in Catalonia: Martinez de la Rosa, to eight years at El Penon, and interdicted from returning to Madrid or approaching the court at the end of that time: Calatrava, eight years to Melilla; Villanueva, Munoz, Torrero, Oliveros, and Cepero, to convents in the Peninsula, for six years, and deprived of their benefices; Alvarez Guerra, and Garcia Herreros, the ministers, eight years to Ceuta and Alhucemus; Generals Valdes, O'Donoughue, and

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* The name given to those points on the African coast retained by Spain for the reception of state prisoners and criminals condemned to imprisonment or hard labour. There are four of them, Ceuta, El Penon, Alhucemus, and Malilla.

† Independently of this list, I have collected the names of four hundred and fifty individuals of all ranks and professions, sentenced by the three commissions, before the end of 1815; of these sixty were sent to the presidios, and distributed amongst the prisons of the Peninsula, forty-three exiled, one hundred and sixty-five mulcted and to pay costs, twenty-six deprived of their places, and one hundred and sixty admnoished. The punishment of those who were known to be rich, was generally commuted for a large fine.

Villa Campa, to fortresses, for periods of four and eight years; amongst the literary characters included in the decree, was Quintana, one of the most celebrated living poets of Spain, ordered to be imprisoned for six years at Pamplona.

Although none of the commissions had actually sentenced the deputies, the second went so far as to recommend the measure of punishment to be inflicted on some, whose causes it pretended to have terminated.* Wherever this occurred, the secret counsellors of Ferdinand persuaded him to increase rather than diminish it, as in the case of Gutierrez de Teran, one of the representatives for Mexico, who had been only exiled for two years, whereas the royal order extended it to six. This augmentation of punishment is amongst the heaviest charges laid to the account of Ferdinand, and it would be well for that deluded Prince if the aggravation went no farther; the precautions and restrictions which accompanied the decree, prove, however, to what an extent the malignity of faction can go, when entrusted with power. The preamble of the royal order enjoined that the greatest secrecy should be observed in preparing the vehicles and other means of transporting the prisoners to their respective destinations; every thing was to be in readiness by the night of the 17th, when, having chosen the "most silent hour," the officers of justice were to proceed to the different prisons; cause the persons comprised in the decree to dress with all possible haste, and hurry them off before the dawn, so as that the inhabitants of Madrid might remain in total ignorance of the event until next day. The whole of the culprits were to be at their places of confinement within twenty days, and those who manifested any opposition to his Majesty's orders, prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the laws: none of the condemned were to leave their prisons or scene of exile without special permission from the King; while those who attempted to escape, were to suffer death. Finally, neither sickness nor any other cause was to be admitted as an excuse for not complying with the terms of the royal order.

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* The conduct of all these commissions fully justify the unfavourable opinion entertained of such tribunals by Montesquieu, who has truly observed, that they have done more towards the destruction of liberty than any other institution he could name. Berenger, a popular writer on criminal justice, of the present day, has, however, gone farther, observing, that these unconstitutional substitutes for the ordinary organs of the law, are only distinguished from assassins, by their preceding the work of death with the ceremony of a sentence! These opinions have certainly been borne out by what has frequently occurred in more countries than Spain.

A particular decree, under the sign manual, addressed to the governor of Ceuta, and dated on the 10th January, directed, that Agustin Arguelles, Alvarez Guerra, Gonzaga Calvo, and Perez de la Rosa, confined there, should not be permitted to see their family or friends; that they should also be deprived the use of pen, ink, and paper: nor were any letters to be delivered to them; for all which the governor was made responsible at his peril.

As my object has been to condense the principal facts connected with this memorable persecution up to the condemnation of the deputies, for it only ceased with the events of last March, rather than give a detailed account of the proceedings, a variety of incidents illustrating that total absence of law, equity, and justice, which marked its progress, are necessarily omitted; enough has, however, I trust, been related, to justify the opinion I ventured to offer on the subject at the commencement of my last letter.

Should you feel any surprise at the apparent indifference with which the people seemed to look on, while these atrocities were going forward, it is easily accounted for, by calling to mind the baleful influence of the priesthood and nobles, in perverting the blessings of freedom, and rendering it less estimable in the eyes of an uneducated multitude; that all power of deliberation was also withdrawn, while the most trifling effort at complaint or intercession would have been followed by instant punishment and ruin.

With regard to that fatality, which could induce a prince, who owed his crown to the very men he thus outraged, to enter into the views of his wicked counsellors, while so many circumstances lead you to believe he had better intentions, nothing can be more contradictory or inexplicable, nor shall I at present attempt to explain the mystery which hangs over this part of Ferdinand's personal history. I might have, in this place, entered into a more elaborate defence of the members of the government and Cortes, were such a task required, after the admirable exposition of Florez Estrada. I will not, however, deny myself the pleasure of also bearing testimony to the immense benefits they conferred on their country, or of noticing the state in which they found the kingdom, when gratuitously abandoned by the Royal Family in 1808, but this act of justice is reserved for a future communication.

Previous to giving you some account of the numerous adherents of King Joseph, and of the treatment they met with in the face of a solemn pledge given by the King, to be restored to their families and country, I cannot help calling your particular attention to the apathy with which the representatives of foreign states witnessed a system of tyranny that filled every humane and reflecting mind in Europe with horror and indignation. Surely, if ever there was a case in which amicable expostulation, if not open remonstrance, could not only be justified, but was even imperatively called for, it was one like the present, in which the persecution extended to the legislators and members of a government, whose legitimacy had been acknowledged, and alliance sought, by all the belligerent powers except France. Yet, I have not, after the most scrupulous inquiry, been able to ascertain that any of the numerous diplomatists here, proffered a single word, or wrote one solitary line, to stay the proceedings or mitigate the sufferings of those selected for punishment, and who had been most active in opposing the French armies. No! not an effort was made to save the patriots, or prevent the irreparable disgrace which Ferdinand and his advisers were bringing so rapidly on royalty. Whereas, more than one is known to have fomented party animosities, and laboured to promote that ruin which had overtaken the people when recently liberated from the yoke of despotism and slavery.

LETTER VI.

Afrancesados and Liberales.—Treatment of the former, and Motives of their Political Conduct.—Treaty of Fontainbleau.—Flight of Ferdinand.—New Changes recognized by Russia and Austria.—Imbecility of the reigning Family.—Bourbon Dynasty.—Motives for cultivating the Alliance of France.—Disinterestedness of the Afrancesados.—Suppression of the Holy Office.—Memorable saying of the Emperor Napoleon.—Enterprize against Spain compared with other Aggressions.—Congress of Vienna, &c.—Influence of Napoleon's Policy on the Destinies of Mankind.—Extract from his Memoirs.—Opinion of Marina.—Arguments in favour of King Joseph's Right to the Throne.—Reforms effected by the New Government.—Ministry nominated.—Popularity of the King.—Assemblage of Nobility and Gentry at Bayonne.—Their Address.—Charges against the Afrancesados.—Their Reasons for Emigrating.—Probable Judgment of Posterity.—Broken Promises of Ferdinand.—Invidious Distinctions.—Delusive Hopes.—Decree of May 30.—Its Consequences.—Refuted by Llorente.—Concluding Reflections.

Madrid, August, 1820.

Although, like most party questions, the long agitated dispute between the *Afrancesados* and *Liberales* must continue to be rather one of opinion than positive right, until the interests and prejudices which environ it are removed, you will perhaps be gratified to know some of the reasons alleged by the followers of Joseph Bonaparte, in justification of their political conduct, and which still render them scarcely less dissatisfied with the policy of the patriotic government and Cortes, than they are with that of Ferdinand and the servile faction.

Those who have defended the Afrancesados, or replied to the numerous charges brought against them, do not fail to cite that public law of Europe, which has of late years been more frequently a subject of philosophical meditation in the closet, than a rule of conduct to sovereigns or their ministers; and it is but justice to add, that every writer of celebrity, from Grotius and Puffendorf to Vattel and Burlemaque, seems to have fully justified the course adopted by this class of Spanish reformers. It is not, however, to be inferred, that the Liberales, in preferring national independence to the acknowledgment of a foreign Prince, were blameable: on the contrary, the adherents of King Joseph, while they admire the patriotism of their competitors in the cause of reform, merely contend that much more might have been effected for the interests and happiness of Spain, without those sacrifices of blood and treasure occasioned by the war. Equally anxious for the regeneration of their common country, the leaders of this party had long advocated the absolute necessity of a change, though they entertained no idea of altering the existing dynasty. Alike ignorant of the treaty concluded at Fontainbleau, in 1807,* or of those secret arrangements by which the Prince of the Peace and his friends had prepared Spain for the reception of its new allies, the Afrancesados made every effort compatible with allegiance and loyalty, towards enabling their sovereign to oppose the arms of Napoleon. But having been left without any means of resistance, and abandoned to their fate, they ask, if a people thus deserted and disarmed, should have wantonly excited the fury or resentment of a conqueror; and, as the King had saved himself and family by flight, whether they had not a right to save themselves and their country by submission?*

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* Vide Appendix.

After enumerating a variety of facts, and quoting ample authorities, both sacred and profane, to prove that all the ties which bound them to the old family and government were broken asunder, the writers on this side of the question maintain that, to resist the armies of Napoleon, would have been in direct opposition to the proclamations both of Ferdinand, and Charles IV., while, as the result has shewn, it was sure of entailing the greatest misery on Spain. On the other hand, neither well authenticated assertions, nor positive proofs are wanting to show, that in accepting office to the exclusion of all foreign appointments, and otherwise co-operating with the new government, the Afrancesados not only consulted the best interest of their country, but greatly diminished the horrors of a contest which they regarded as altogether unnecessary.

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* Considering the circumstances which attended the departure of Ferdinand, it is extremely difficult to call it by any other name than a flight. There is no doubt of his being fully informed of the secret understanding which existed between Napoleon and his immediate counsellors: it is even said, that he did not leave Madrid without a previous knowledge of what was to be the general result of his visit to Bayonne. It is well known, that young Hervas, son to the Marquis d'Almenara, and who accompanied General Savary to Madrid, before the King set out, communicated the probable consequences of the intended journey, while several efforts were made to prevent it on the road to Vittoria, particularly at Miranda de Ebro, and Burgos, where, Urquijo, who had been minister to Charles IV., expostulated with the Duke del Infantado and Escoiquiz, on the imprudence of Ferdinand's quitting the kingdom. When reminded of his inattention to these warnings, at Bayonne, the Duke excused himself on the plea, of his having acted from no motive but that of benefiting the nation, and he accordingly remained attached to the fortunes of King Joseph, till they received their first check at the battle of Baylen.

The partisans of King Joseph might have felt somewhat less indignant at their subsequent persecution and sufferings, had not the whole nation, with the exception of Cadiz, Alicant and Carthagena, spontaneously yielded and sworn fealty to that Prince. Independently of the formal renunciations of the royal family, the circumstance of his being recognised and addressed by all the public bodies, ought surely to have been considered as a palliative, if it did not operate as an exemption from that punishment which has been so unsparingly inflicted on them for a period of more than ten years.

That the recent changes were agreeable to the

Powers, in alliance with the Emperor, was evident from the extreme readiness with which they acknowledged Joseph's title to the throne; there is no doubt of the Russian Autocrat's having been privy to them; while the convention signed between Austria and France after the battle of Wagram, not only agreed to those already effected, but promised to acquiesce in all others which might be thought necessary in future.

Once disengaged from the old dynasty, it became the duty of the Afrancesados warmly to espouse the interests of the new king, so long as he continued to fulfil the solemn obligations entered into at Bayonne. As to the reigning family, its own imbecility, no less than the degraded crew by which it had been surrounded ever since the death of Charles III., seemed to render its longer continuance on the throne altogether impracticable. Although they neither encouraged nor contributed to the event, yet, the family having sealed its own doom, this party was convinced the great work of reform could never be brought about, without a government possessing sufficient energy to inspire respect, while its power awed those formidable enemies, who were sure to oppose every measure in favour of improvement and humanity.

In reply to the charge of admitting a foreign domination, the followers of King Joseph spurned the imputation of being less attached to national independence than the rest of their countrymen: but they ask, who besides foreign families had reigned in the Peninsula since the succession of the Austrian dynasty; and what had the Bourbons done for Spain? It is true, say they, that the agents of Louis XIV., by their intrigues and bribery at the court of Charles II., prevailed on that weak Prince to bequeath his crown to the Dauphin, in preference to other competitors; but instead of a constitution, laws, commerce, or industry, did he not come to rivet the chains of legitimacy more closely than ever, and entail a war of several years on his new vassals; whereas Napoleon, in addition to his having broken the accursed spell that had so long poisoned all the sources of freedom, virtue, and national prosperity, effected reforms of the most salutary description, which it would have been idle to expect from the old feudal dynasties?

It is asserted, by the adherents of Joseph, that neither a love of power, ambition, nor motives of personal interest, had any share in their adoption of this Prince: they did not even entirely approve of Napoleon's policy with regard to the royal family; but, in considering his power and influence as the only sure guarantee for reform, it was imagined that the disapprobation excited by a few isolated measures, would be amply compensated by those ameliorations which were to follow in their train. They do not deny, that while indulging the pleasing hope of seeing their unhappy country rescued from that frightful abyss into which it had fallen from former oppressions, a combination of circumstances led them to believe improvement was more likely to arise from their connection with France than any other country: its politics and literature had, notwithstanding the barbarous restrictions of the holy office, also penetrated into Spain, and mainly tended to awaken the more enlightened classes from that lethargy in which they had remained so long buried. In producing a Voltaire and a Montesquieu, the French nation had acquired claims to the gratitude of contemporaries: finally, its memorable revolution, though sullied by the temporary triumph of faction, had destroyed an intolerable system of government, thus holding out an example worthy of imitation to all other states.

The above were amongst the causes which operated so powerfully in favour of Napoleon; and although it was not expected that all their wishes for the good of Spain would be realized by the alliance, the partizans of King Joseph felt satisfied no monarch, however unlimited his power, would attempt to establish a new dynasty here, without bettering the condition of the people. The very first measure of the Emperor proved they were not mistaken in their conjectures: I allude to the abolition of that tribunal of blood to which the whole nation had long attributed all its evils. To those who are acquainted with the opinion universally entertained of the holy office, even to the present moment, I need not say that this act alone was enough to immortalize the author's name, while it called forth the benedictions of every friend to humanity throughout the civilized world.*

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* The time and place chosen for issuing the decree greatly enhanced its value in the estimation of the people, and proved how well Napoleon knew how to secure popular applause. Having only quitted Paris on the 30th of October, to head his armies in the Peninsula, he routed a large body of patriotic troops at Gamonal, near Burgos, on the 10th of November, and pushing on towards the mountains of Somo-Sierra, gained another decisive battle on the 30th of the same month; thus opening a free passage to the capital. Reaching Chamartin, within a few leagues of Madrid, on the 2d of December, the anniversary of his coronation, the decree was promulgated there on that very day, and is said to have had a wonderful effect in accelerating the almost general adhesion to King Joseph, which followed soon after. It did not, however, fail to increase the fury of the priesthood, whose vengeance became quite unbounded as soon as they heard the grand source of their power and influence was suppressed. One able defender of the Afrancesados, the anonymous author of a well written pamphlet, entitled "*Una Question Politica,*" in alluding to this subject, observes: "all enlightened Spaniards sighed for that happy day when truth should triumph over falsehood here, as it had in France. Our eyes were constantly turned to that country as the centre of light, while the powerful interest of its government was invoked to promote the reform of our laws and defective institutions. It is true we were, like the friends of freedom in other places, afflicted to perceive that so many obstacles had arisen to oppose the progress of liberty, but consoled ourselves in reflecting, that whatever disputes might arise about the division and distribution of power north of the Pyrenees, the ameliorations required could not fail to take effect in Spain, and this was our only care. The great barrier to reform and improvement, arose from the Inquisition, and Napoleon

It was a saying of the Emperor, in speaking of the Spanish people, that their descendants would one day raise altars to his name. Whatever objections may have been made to the particular mode in which Napoleon effected the regeneration of this country, it will doubtless be enough for posterity to know, that the honour belonged to him alone: the principle was unquestionably paramount to every other consideration, and if there ever existed a case in politics or morals wherein the end justified the means, that of rescuing a whole people from the lowest and most abject state of misery and degradation, is certainly not amongst the least exceptionable. A great change has even already taken place in the public opinion of Spain, with regard to Napoleon's enterprize, nor have I met with a single individual since my arrival, who think it ought to be estimated by the ordinary standard of political reasoning.

It is neither my intention to justify those errors of policy which Napoleon himself has had the rare magnanimity to acknowledge, or to anticipate the judgment of future generations. I am merely desirous of placing the question in a somewhat clearer point of view than it has been hitherto regarded. Such was the peculiar nature of the

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caused its almost immediate suppression; he also pledged himself to convoke the Cortes, upon which our chief and ultimate hopes were founded."

contest between England and France, that excesses were by no means confined to one side. If we thought the existence of Napoleon incompatible with our own power, he may in his turn have considered us as fit objects of extermination. It is not indeed improbable, that his plan for making a more effectual ally of Spain, may have been suggested by a few historical facts connected with our recent history.* If he believed Portugal to be no better than a colony of Great Britain, there was surely nothing so very extraordinary or criminal in his attempt to wrench it from our hands, or in his wishing to give France the benefit of a closer alliance with the Peninsula. I forbear entering into an examination of his position relative to the Bourbons, it is too obvious to require illustration. I lament in common with others, that instead of acting a secondary and protective part, by suffering the people to work out their own political salvation under his auspices, Napoleon should have so far mistaken the national character as to attack its most predominant dogmas, Catholicism and legitimacy, into which, according to the Abbé de Pradt and others, all the virtues and energies of the nation were reduced previous to the war of independence. These would, however, have been most probably insufficient to effect the work of regeneration. Happily for the people, the sacrifices they were called on to make, and the intellectual powers brought into play, led on to higher modes of thinking, while it exposed the deformity of the former system, and demonstrated the necessity of one more consonant with the principles of justice.

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* It should not be forgotten, that the attack on Copenhagen and seizure of the Spanish frigates, without a previous declaration of war, preceded the invasion of Spain. I apprehend that all the reasons brought forward in justification of those two state crimes, will only tend to aggravate their enormity in the eyes of posterity.

That the memorable expression above cited, may have originated in a consciousness on the part of Napoleon, that under any circumstances of present calamity, immense future benefits would be conferred on this country by its military occupation, is extremely probable. Even the virtuous Marina, who cannot be suspected of any bias in favour of the French Emperor, observes, in his erudite essay on the Spanish Monarchy: "Bonaparte indirectly rendered a great service to Spain, when he avowed and put into execution his mysterious and profound design of invading it, and removing the royal family; because the people, deluded with a mere shadow of felicity, and dazzled by false hopes, founded on the amiable character of the young King,* would never have thought of throwing off a yoke of the most unjust oppression, or breaking the chains of slavery; nor in a new political revolution so imperiously required by the state of affairs; so that Ferdinand would have continued to reign as despotically as his father. But Napoleon was the instrument employed by providence to work our salvation, and that of future generations; for, dissolved and disorganized as the old government (if it deserved the name) had become, the ties loosened and links broken which united the nation to its Prince, it was bound to think of recovering its imprescriptible rights, and establishing a better form of government. Had Bonaparte, therefore, abandoned his design of subjugating Spain and removing the Royal Family, either there would have been no revolution, or its fruits would have been sterile." If the foregoing remarks of a profound politician and learned writer, who was constantly opposed to the policy of the Emperor, does not justify it, in the opinion of those who would preserve legitimacy at the expence of human happiness, they have had a very considerable effect on the patriots, and will not, I should imagine, be lost on posterity.

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* An attempt will be made hereafter to explain the enigma which naturally attaches to this allusion of Marina.

If the limits prescribed to this correspondence, admitted a more elaborate enquiry into a question which has already furnished materials for volumes, it would be worth while drawing a parallel between the invasion of Spain, or rather its military occupation, and those innumerable aggressions which have in every age and country marked the progress in society. I will even venture to assert, that it would bear a favourable comparison with many incidents in the history of our own country, from the conquest of Ireland down to the gigantic and unwieldly increase of our Eastern empire. As it is impossible to avoid making comparisons while examining this important subject, I cannot help observing, that the appropriations,* by some called *spoliations*, of human lives and territory, effected by the various European Congresses, held since the abdication of Napoleon, run the risk of being regarded in an infinitely worse light by future generations, than his enterprize against Spain; inasmuch as, that the latter was undertaken for the avowed and express purpose of improving the institutions of an enslaved people, weighed down by centuries of oppression, and of whom numbers of the most virtuous and enlightened espoused the cause of the foreign prince; whereas it is well known that neither Naples, Poland, Genoa, Lombardy, Venice, Saxony, Ragusa, Sicily, nor Spain herself, were restored to their old masters, for any other purpose than the renewal of the former tyrannies, destroyed by the victorious arms of Bonaparte.

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* "Not according to rights, natural affiances, language, habits, or laws; but by tables of finance, which divided her (Europe) population into souls, demi-souls (*ames, demi-ames, &c.* vide protocols of the Congress), and even fractions, conformably to a scale of the direct duties or taxes which could be levied by the acquiring state." See Sir Robert Wilson's admirable essay on the military policy of Russia, in which these matters are no less ably than eloquently illustrated.

A powerful argument might also be urged in favour of that part of Napoleon's policy, which Marina justly calls "profound," by referring to its general effect on the destinies of other nations, but above all, with regard to the vast continent of South America; which, but for the treaty of Fontainbleau, would most probably be, to this day, groaning under the triple yoke of despotism, superstition, and ignorance. Thus, then, in addition to regenerating the population of Spain, that of the New World and her other colonies may be said to have received their first grand impulse towards freedom and independence from the bold attempt to alter the system of imbecility and corruption here. It is not my province to enquire, how far Napoleon may have been an instrument in the hands of Providence; or to attribute bad motives to an action fraught with such incalculable benefits to mankind; it is enough for the people of present and future times, to know, that he was the first who prepared the way for these immense and fertile regions becoming one universal emporium for European industry; as it will be for the impartial of all ages to admit or deny, whether, if the immortal and persecuted Christopher Columbus had the unfading glory of discovering the New World, it was not comparatively lost to Europe previous to the occupation of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte?*

Some of these avowals are contained in the following interesting note, brought from the scene of Napoleon's captivity about two years ago, by one of the most faithful and most persecuted of his followers. When the whole of the memoirs dictated by the Emperor at St. Helena are made public, a number of additional facts relative to his connection with this country will most probably come to light; meanwhile, these remarks are the more valuable, from there not being a doubt of their authenticity. In order that no part of the spirit or meaning be withdrawn, they are given in the original.

"L'Empereur, en parlant de la guerre d'Espagne et des transactions de Bayonne, disait:—Cette combinaison m'a perdu: toutes les circonstances de mes desastres, viennent se rattacher à ce nœud fatal. Elle a detruit ma moralité en Europe, divisé mes forces, multiplié mes embarras, ouverte une ecole aux soldats Anglais. C'est moi qui ai formé l'armée Anglaise dans la Péninsule.

"Les événemens ont prouvé que j'avais fait une grande faute, dans le choix de mes moyens; car la faute est dans les moyens, bien plus que

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* The re-organization of South America, and establishment of independent governments there, as well as in several of the larger colonies, had been planned by Napoleon long before his armies appeared in the Peninsula.

dans les principes. Il est hors de doute que dans la crise ou se trouvait la France, dans la lutte des idées nouvelles, dans la grande cause du siècle contre le reste de l'Europe, nous ne pouvions pas laisser l'Espagne en arrière à la disposition de nos ennemis. Il fallait l'entrainer de gré ou de force dans notre systême : le destin de la France le demandait ainsi : et le code du salut des nations n'est pas toujours celui des particuliers. D'ailleurs, à la necessité politique, se joignait ici la force du droit. L'Espagne, quand elle me crut en peril, quand elle me sut aux prises à Jene, m'avait à peu prês declaré la guerre : l'injure ne devait pas passer impunie. Je pouvais la lui declarer à son tour, et certes le succès n'etait point douteux. C'est cette facilité même, qui m'egara. La nation meprisait son gouvernement, elle appellait à grands cris une régénérateur. De la hauteur à laquelle le sort m'avait elevé, je me crus appellé, je crus digne de moi d'accomplir en paix ce grand événement. Je voulus éparner le sang : que pas une goutte ne suillât l'emancipation Castellane. Je delivrai donc les Espagnoles de leurs hideuses institutions ; je leur donnais une constitution liberale ; je crus necessaire, trop légérement, peut-être, de changer leur dynastie : je plaçai un de mes frères à leur tête ; *mais il fut le seul étranger au milieu d'eux.*

Je respectai leur integrité, leur independance, leurs mœurs, le reste de leurs lois. Le nouveau Monarque gagna la capitale, n'ayant d'autres mi-

nistres, d'autres conseillers, d'autres courtisans, que ceux de la derniere cour. Mes troupes allaient se retirer. J'accomplissais le plus grand bienfait qui ait jamais été repandu sur un peuple, me disais-je, et je me le dit encore. Les Espagnols eux-mêmes, m'a-t-on assuré, le pensaient au fonds, et ne se sont plaints que des formes. J'attendais leurs benedictions : il en fût autrement : ils dédaignerent l'interet pour ne s'occuper que de l'injure. Ils s'indignerent à l'idée de l'offence, se revoltèrent à la vue de la force. Tous coururent aux armes. Les Espagnols en masse se conduiserent comme un homme d'honneur. Je n'ai rien à dire contre cela ; sinon qu'ils ont triomphé, qu'ils en sont cruellement punis ; qu'ils en sont peut-être à regretter !—Ils meritaient mieux.

As intimately connected with the justification of the Afrancesados, I regret being unable to notice more at length the eloquent work of Riemosa*, in which that able writer has viewed the question with the eyes of a philosopher, publicist, patriot, and statesman. After devoting a separate chapter to the discussion of all the charges made against his party, and alternately wielding the arms of fact, reason, and argument in their defence, the author concludes in the following terms:—" Such is the history of our misfortunes, constancy, and of the injustice we have experienced. The two kings, both father and son, went to France contrary to the wishes of the nation, to concert their own personal interests, through the mediation of the French emperor. The result of their conferences, was a renunciation of the sceptre for themselves and the Infantes in favour of Napoleon and his family; an act, which, though it might not be regarded as altogether spontaneous, was the last and only authentic one of our Princes. The latter were not to return to Spain; and this was the more certain, from their being in the hands of those who had the greatest interest, and possessed all the power of preventing it. A considerable portion of the Peninsula had been previously occupied, and the strong places on the frontiers given up to the armies of the Emperor, who had also under his command the troops of Spain, exhausted in strength and bereft of resources. These same princes exhorted their people not to engage in, or attempt a resistance which could only involve the ruin of all, while the general state of affairs justified this persuasion. Matters being thus arranged, through violence or convention, the new Monarch was recognized by a junta composed of all classes of Spaniards assembled at Bayonne, and obeyed by the government which the kings appointed on their departure: the treaty of his installation, and the laws dictated by him, were also promulgated by the Supreme Council of the nation. When the Sovereign went to take possession of the crown, he was received on his journey as king by the people; on entering the capital, the inhabitants recognized and swore fealty to his person. The public functionaries, and all other persons occupying places of trust, were confirmed in their situations, without a single exception." It is unnecessary to cite the learned author's various statements relative to the time King Joseph remained in possession; or the conduct or motives of those who stimulated the war of independence, and informalities inseparable from the formation of the Cortes at Cadiz. He says that when the judgment of future times is given, that disposition which characterized the actions of the Afrancesados as crimes, will be considered as a perversion of reason: truly adding, that the people are exonerated from obedience, whenever the prince is removed from the command. If force or inclination induces the monarch to renounce his crown, the same motives also put an end to the subordination of his subjects. If the latter continue under the dominion of their prince, till he is vanquished, nothing more can be required of them: while their late master is unable to recover his power, both are alike incapable of rendering each other any assistance; incapacitated from being reciprocally useful, the actions of either party are not within the pale of the social compact, nor can they be judged according to this compact. Finally, the laws which prescribe fidelity, suppose the existence of mutual obligations between the subject many, and ruling few: when these obligations, which are the foundation of fidelity, cease; when allegiance sworn to the conquered or abdicating prince, has been of necessity transferred to another, then has the tenour of the law changed; it is even reversed, and cannot be applied to actions performed under new political ties: all proceedings against these acts are, therefore, illegal and arbitrary. Such actions, if they deserve to be regarded as criminal, ought to be forgiven after a revolution, of which the evils are greatly aggravated by chastisement. Such, says the author, "are the cardinal maxims developed in this treatise: they are plain, connected with each other, and form a whole; all are supported by the principles of natural light, on that of nations and political justice: lastly, they have all been either recognized or proclaimed by the most celebrated publicists of Europe."

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* *Examen de los delitos de Infidelidad à la Patria, &c.* This interesting volume was published anonymously in France about four years ago, since which no writer has attempted to contradict the author's statements, or impugn his veracity, Rienosa, to whom it is attributed, was amongst the numerous ecclesiastics who followed the fortunes of King Joseph, and remained in exile till the amnesty voted by Cortes towards the close of their first session, but he has now taken advantage of that tardy measure, and returned to his country.

It has been maintained as an additional argument in favour of the Emperor and his brother's title to the throne, that so large a party, including many of the most virtuous and enlightened men in Spain, should have espoused their cause with a zeal, which could only spring from a conviction, that the former were conferring the greatest benefits on their country. As to the constitution of Bayonne, though certainly not so liberal as that of Cadiz, especially in whatever related to the kingly power and formation of Cortes, yet were most of its articles unexceptionable. The avowed object of Napoleon, immediately after he became possessed of the renunciations made at Bayonne, was to convene the Cortes, which had, it is well known, been suspended by the kings of the Austrian dynasty, and completely set aside during that of the Bourbons. This admission of a national congress, elected by the people, presented a sure barrier against arbitrary power, affording security to property, from the mere fact of its possessing the exclusive privilege of voting the supplies and imposing taxes. Unlike the former system, the executive and legislative power were to be separated; the judges declared independent of the Crown, and such other measures adopted as were most likely to check the growth, or admit the possibility of public abuses.

To prove that these were not idle promises held out to seduce the credulous, it is sufficient to add that the abolition of the holy office; appropriation of church lands to the payment of the public creditor and wants of the state; sale of national domains; the formation of civil and criminal codes; public instructions removed from those gothic piles in which it had been confined by the depraved and despotic taste of priests and school-men; lastly, a powerful impulse given to arts, manufactures and commerce;—such and various other equally salutary, were amongst the immediate results of the new government, though produced during the distractions of a rancorous war.

With respect to the ministers of King Joseph, whether chosen by himself or Napoleon, it would have been impossible for the most ardent friend of Spain to make a more excellent selection. They were named at Bayonne on the 4th of July, 1808, and consisted of men who had been long distinguished for the liberality of their sentiments, literary acquirements, and superior talents in all the branches of political knowledge. To substantiate this assertion, I need only mention the names of Jovellanos,* Cabarrus, Cambronero, Llorenté, O'Farril, Azanza, Urquijo, Mazarredo, Arrivas, and Pignuela; most of these, had filled very high offices under Charles IV., and were all more or less exposed to persecution during his reign, for their efforts in favour of reform.

The unusual circumstance of not abandoning their adopted sovereign when he retired, has also been made a part of the charges against the adherents of Joseph, as if fidelity in misfortune was a crime; or that constancy to fallen greatness, did not exhibit human nature in its most favourable colours. The truth is, that besides the solemn ties which bound them to the new king, this prince, in addition to an irreproachable private character, and those public virtues which he was known to have displayed while at Naples, his engaging address, conciliating manners, and evident determination to carry the promised reforms into effect, had won the hearts of many who were at first violently opposed to his accession.

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* The reason which adduced this great and good man to decline the invitation of Joseph, to become one of his ministers, will be given in a future letter.

The following extract of an original letter from Cevallos, to his friend Bardaxi Azara at Madrid, serves to prove how favourable an impression Joseph must have made on those who went to receive him at Bayonne. "I have had the honour," says Cevallos, "of being presented to the King, who arrived from Naples yesterday, and I think his single presence, his goodness and the nobleness of his nature, which you discover at first sight, will be sufficient of themselves, to pacify the provinces without having recourse to arms."

Numbers of the grandees, inferior nobility and gentry of Spain, hastened to Bayonne for the purpose of paying homage and swearing fealty to the new monarch. The following names were amongst the visitors on this occasion: Prince Castel Franco, the Dukes del Parque, de Frias, Hijar, del Infantado and Ossuna; Marquisses d'Hariza, Santa Cruz, Castellanos, and Espeja; Counts Fernan Nunez, Santa Colona, Castelflorida, Noblejas, and many others. The address of these noblemen, spoken by Infantado in the name of all, ac-cords but little with their subsequent desertion of the King: "The people of Spain expect all their happiness from the reign of your Majesty, your presence is ardently desired in the Peninsula, to fix public opinion, conciliate opposite interests, and establish that order so necessary, for the regeneration of our country. Sire, the grandees of Spain have always been distinguished for their fidelity to the sovereign, and your Majesty will experience it, as well as our personal affections. Accept, Sire, those demonstrations of our loyalty, with that bounty so well known to your Neapolitan subjects, and the fame of which has already reached us." The expressions contained in this address are, however, feeble when compared to those of the Grand Inquisitor Etenhard, the Counsellors of Castile, Calon, Lardizabal, Torres, and Villela, or that presented by Torre Musquiz and Galiano, who became such bitter enemies of their countrymen afterwards.

The moderation and forbearance manifested by the members of Joseph's government, and his followers generally, while every species of violence were perpetrated by others, has been attributed to weakness and a wish to gain proselytes! To this singular charge they have very justly replied, that virtue is laudable from whatever source it springs, maintaining that the moderation which their enemies convert into a crime, was the cause of preventing numerous excesses on both sides, while they were constantly occupied as mediators between the French soldiery and the inhabitants, in appeasing the irritated feelings of both parties, and preventing the cruelties which were almost inseparable from such a state of warfare. That the weakness of their party, or want of numbers, had no share in prompting them to acts of benevolence and humanity, is proved by the voluntary submission of nearly the whole country, in which three hundred thousand persons were either zealously engaged in forwarding its interests, or employed by the new government, without reference to those innumerable applications for places of trust, still to be found in the public offices here.

Another charge, that of having left the Peninsula when circumstances rendered it expedient for the new King to withdraw towards France, has been very triumphantly refuted. It is a fact confirmed by too frequent experience, that people seldom emigrate or abandon their country without some powerful stimulus, arising either from an oppressive system of misrule or a wish to escape persecution. Consistent in their conduct, and true to the principles which had induced them to espouse the cause of Joseph in the first instance, the Afrancesados would never have left him, so long as he continued to fulfil the obligations contracted at Bayonne, and from none of which had he swerved in the smallest degree. There was however, no necessity for accompanying the monarch after the battle of Vittoria, nor is it likely they would have done so, had any invitation or guarantee been held out to them by the British general, or Spanish authorities. So far from this being the case; the Afrancesados had no reason to expect the least indulgence on the part of the former, while they were led to anticipate nothing but persecution from the patriotic government, which had till then and long after, designated them as traitors.* Under these embarrassing circumstances, there was no alternative between flight and proscription. It should be added to the honour of the King, that, though all who chose to follow his fortunes, were sure of an asylum and protection in France, he did not require this last painful sacrifice, nor would the fugitives have crossed the Bidasa, had the Cortes and Regency been guided by a more liberal policy.

Having stated a few of the motives which influenced the adherents of King Joseph, and pointed out why they considered themselves as most cruelly dealt with by all parties, it is not my intention to give an opinion on the question at issue between them and their adversaries, nor will it perhaps be decided by contemporary judges. The people of future times, far removed from the prejudices and passions which warp the judgment of those who are too near the scene of political action, will no doubt take a more enlarged and dispassionate view of the events to which I have called your attention. Much as posterity may admire the heroic efforts of the independent party, they will probably ask whether, under all the bearings of this subject, it was worth while destroying the resources of a whole people, sinking capital to an immense amount, and converting the cultivated portion of this fertile region into a desert, merely to preserve the throne of Ferdinand VII.? Will not posterity also inquire whether, had Joseph Buonaparte been accepted, it is in the nature of probabilities, the inquisition, convents, church property, and those interminable abuses which followed their restoration in 1814, would have been revived then or at any other period of the new dynasty? Those who succeed the present generation, not less capable of appreciating patriotism and public virtue, than their predecessors, will be taught by experience to judge with more impartiality, and however they may applaud the intentions of the patriots, it remains to be seen whether the sacrifices I have enumerated, will not be considered as rather too great, for the mere sake of legitimacy and catholicism?

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* This harsh epithet was afterwards softened down to *Infidentes*, or unfaithful, and subsequently dwindled into *disidentes*, dissenters, but the change of name was not found to have diminshed the spirit of persecution.

In closing this portion of the inquiry concerning the two parties which have unhappily divided so long, and whose ruinous contention ought to serve as a salutary lesson to other nations, it is but an act of justice to say, that both were equally attached to the interests of Spain previous to the abdication of Charles IV. and Ferdinand, perfectly agreeing on the impossibility of regenerating it, without the suppression of feudal rights and seignorial privileges; they well knew that while the clergy were allowed to retain a third of the soil, and taxes continued to be levied according to the caprice of a minister, while the revenues of the state and those of the crown remained at the monarch's disposal; that until the corporate bodies were elected by the people and the representative system introduced generally, there could be no hope of freedom or prosperity. Such indeed was the identity of their views when invested with power, that most of the decrees promulgated by the ministers of King Joseph were published with little alteration by the Cortes of Cadiz. However they might have differed in matters of external policy, both saw the necessity of a prompt and radical reform of public abuses. It is for those acquainted with the past and present condition of the Peninsula, and who can at the same time divest themselves of prejudice, to decide, which of these celebrated parties adopted the best mode of attaining the great object of their wishes.

Too deeply imbued with that spirit of party which still continues to prevent the most enlightened men of Europe from uniting for the common good, it was truly unfortunate for the people of this country, that any difference on minor points, should have prevented a coalition amongst men between whom there existed no motives of personal animosity; and whose union could alone have counteracted the designs of those who had determined to immolate both the legislators of Cadiz and reformers of Bayonne. It is almost superfluous to add, that the actors in this drama were principally composed of grandees, bishops, beneficed priests, discarded monks, counsellers of state, together with that tribe of pensioned parasites generated in the court of Charles IV., but who ceased to feed on the vitals of the people on his abdication.

Such were the persons who gained the ascendant on the return of Ferdinand, when a select number, most of whom had sworn fealty to Joseph, having, as before stated, surrounded the King at Valencia, commenced their machinations by calumniating the patriots of Cadiz and Bayonne; the first, because they limited the prerogative, and the second, in order to justify their own apostacy. Finding that all those who had been the companions of Ferdinand's exile possessed kindred minds, there was no difficulty in persuading him that the people would not be satisfied, nor Spain prosperous, unless he consented to govern in the manner of his ancestors!

You have been informed of that article in the treaty of Valençay, which guaranteed the restitution of their confiscated property, rights, and honours, to the followers of King Joseph: also, of the promises of Ferdinand to receive them as children; and that he had scarcely reached Valencia, before the indifference with which the arrest of Rey and Sotelo* was regarded, fully proved that both treaty and promises were forgotten.

It is the old and never failing characteristic of those persecutions, which have so often sullied the page of modern history, that the authors have invariably attempted to cover their atrocious proceedings with the mask of justice. Although the treatment of the Spanish Liberales affords an exception to this general rule, it was adopted in full towards the Afrancesados. The first decree concerning the adherents of King Joseph was dated May 24th, 1814; it related to those who had quitted their country, and in assuming an appearance of equity, the royal order was in reality intended to exclude them from all share in the government, as well as to mark them out as a distinct and degraded portion of the people.

The avowed object of the circular was explained in the preamble, which stated that the critical circumstances in which the monarchy was placed by the King's absence, and the occupation of Spain by the enemy, having furnished those who had the honour of serving his Majesty in the various departments of administration, many occasions of showing by their actions and conduct whether they were still worthy of retaining their places, or merited dismissal; the King knew the same heroism could not be expected from all, and that between this virtue and a want of loyalty, there were several intermediate degrees which ought not to be confounded. It was therefore to avoid such a dilemma, that each Secretary of State, conjointly with Don Manual de Lardizabal and Torre Musquiz, should, without delay, transmit a list of all persons who occupied places of trust before the arrival of Ferdinand, accompanied by detailed observations on their conduct, and divided into classes.

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* The counsellors of state to King Joseph, alluded to in a former letter: they were arrested by order of Mina, on entering Arragon from France, on the faith of Ferdinand's paternal promises.

The first class was to comprise those who would receive no employment from the *Usurper;* the second, all who continued to exercise their former functions; the third, those who had received an extraordinary advancement, which rendered it presumable they had served, not by force, or out of necessitous circumstances, but through affection to the *intrusive* government: the fourth and last, those who, not content with having served Joseph, had persuaded others to do so, for the purpose of increasing their party, and persecuting those who remained faithful. Full powers for inquiry and examination into the archives of government were given, and the circular ended with an earnest request that no time might be lost in executing the King's order, to prevent any delay in recompensing the loyal, pardoning the weak, or punishing the wicked and perverse!

After what has been said of the motives which influenced the Afrancesados, it is needless to enter into an examination of the above documents, or the invidious distinctions it contained. If it was a crime to serve the *Usurper*, as it styled the new King, above two-thirds of the nobility and corporate bodies throughout Spain were guilty, and none more so, than the very men who now surrounded the restored monarch, and even dictated the circular.

Although this specious and hypocritical decree made no allusion to the refugees in France, it was but too well calculated to awaken their fears: these did not, however, prevent the greater part from flattering themselves with the certainty of Ferdinand's adhering to that article in the treaty of Valençay which guaranteed their return. It was imagined by those who were not sufficiently near the court to see how matters proceeded, that though the patriots forming the late government and Cortes, had been arrested and thrown into prison, it did not follow a solemn pledge so recently contracted with themselves, was to be broken: and the least credulous amongst his party, could not for a moment suppose, that the policy of Ferdinand's ministers would be in direct opposition to the apparently amicable spirit of the treaty for restoring the Bourbon dynasty, and settling a general peace concluded at Paris. The Afrancesados even anticipated some mediation in their favour on the part of Louis XVIII. His most Christian Majesty could not have been indifferent to the system about to be adopted by the branch of his family reigning here: and he knew that conciliation was no less required to secure popularity in Spain than his own dominions.

To such an extent had their confidence in the good faith of Ferdinand been carried, that the followers of King Joseph residing at Montpellier and other parts of the south of France, celebrated the 30th of May, St. Ferdinand's day, by a solemn church service, in which, thanks were offered up to the Most High for the restoration of the benignant prince, who had promised to confer such happiness on Spain. *Te Deum* was also sung, and a sermon preached in praise of the young king. At Paris, and in several departments of the north, those who possessed the means met at public dinners, to drink a long reign to Ferdinand, their *legitimate* sovereign: for they had by this time been formally absolved from the oath of allegiance to Joseph. While these demonstrations of loyalty and affection were going on, Macanaz and his friends seemed to view the subject in a far different light. So little had their dark purpose changed, that the very day on which both the patriots of Bayonne and Cadiz fully expected a general act of grace, was chosen for the promulgation of a decree, absolutely prohibiting the leaders of the first named party from entering the Peninsula: only permitting the rest to do so under restrictions which amounted to prohibition; depriving them of the honours they had acquired during the reign of Charles IV.; declaring them incapable of filling any public employments, and even proscribing those innocent women, who, yielding to the sentiments of nature and duty, had followed the fortunes and shared the fate of their husbands, fathers, and children!

It is merely necessary to contrast the fond hopes entertained by the exiled patriots and their conduct towards Ferdinand, with the barbarous tenor of this royal order, to form some conception of their lacerated feelings when it reached the scene of banishment.

Llorente, the historian of the Inquisition, and whose *memoirs form a history of the first Spanish revolution*, contain a minute account of these transactions, observes, in closing his description of the above decree: "I leave it for my readers to conceive in what a state the refugees must have now found themselves. I candidly confess, I cannot find language to pourtray it. Even those who had indulged in sinister prognostics, did not believe in the probability of such an order; their imagination could not figure to itself, as possible, what they now experienced in fact." The same work contains an able commentary on this state paper, replying to each article separately, and showing the fallacy as well as falsehood of its assertions.

To that part of the decree which commences by saying, "the King has heard that several of those Spaniards who had been partizans and supporters of the *intrusive government*, entertained the design of re-entering Spain;" the commentator asks, how can the government of King Joseph be called intrusive, since Ferdinand himself was amongst the first to recognize its legitimacy, not only by the treaty of May 16th, 1808, and proclamation of the same month, but in his spontaneous letter of April 6th, 1810: in his demand for admission into the new order established by Joseph; that which he made to become the adopted son of Napoleon; and above all in the treaty of Valençay? As a farther proof of Ferdinand's adherence to the new King's government, and devotion to the Emperor of the French, it is asked whether he did not consent to his brother Don Carlos, requesting the command of a division of the troops destined to march against Russia in 1812; and if it was not matter of public notoriety that he ordered his household at Valençay to swear allegiance to Joseph and the Constitution of Bayonne.

In his letter of the 6th of May, Ferdinand gave positive orders to those around him, to obey the injunctions of Charles IV. his father, and to adhere to all the arrangements entered into with, or directed by, Napoleon; observing that this was the sole mode of saving the country. In his proclamation of the 12th, these orders were not only ratified, but, as an additional proof of Ferdinand's intentions, he absolved the people of Spain from the oath they had taken in his favour after the abdication of the old King.

It is also proved by Llorente, that the government of King Joseph was the only one recognized here, until the insurrection of the 2d of May:* that the whole nation considered him as the legitimate sovereign, swearing allegiance to him in all the churches during the celebration of high mass and before the holy sacraments: that the people swore with all their hearts, sincerely, and without any internal reservations. This was done in every town and village of the Peninsula, except Cadiz, Alicant, and Carthagena, all places distant from the capital, and situated on the seacoast.

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* The most enlightened writers and statesmen amongst the followers of King Joseph still maintain, that had it not been for the events which provoked this insurrection, and the inexcusable policy of Murat in appointing a Military Commission to punish the leaders, with a view, as I have been informed, of terrifying the people into submission, the triumph of the new dynasty would have been inevitable. Numerous facts corroborating the above opinion are cited, particularly the unpopularity of the war, and apathy of the people in various provinces, long after its commencement.

Besides the cessions made at Bayonne, Joseph had also the right of conquest in his favour, and however unjust in its origin, this right was consecrated as soon as the people confirmed it by their oaths of fidelity and submission. This doctrine, adds the writer, is very favourable to Ferdinand VII.; for in the contrary case, if the possession of the crown became the subject of litigation as to the justice and legitimacy of the title, the present King would have very slender means of defence, since his claims are derived from Henry II. bastard son of Alphonso XI. and who murdered his brother Don Pedro, surnamed the cruel, only legitimate son of Alphonso, and real heir to the crown. The nation long harassed by civil wars, was at length induced to acquiesce in the titles of the new King, thus purifying the vices of their origin. Such are the grounds upon which Ferdinand VII. the fourteenth descendant of Henry II. continues to reign.*

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* It is a remarkable fact that Henry, previously known as Count Trastamar, was placed on the throne by a French army, under the famous Bertrand de Guesclin. Don Pedro, styled the Nero of Spain, having wandered about the Peninsula without being able to find a single friend in his adversity, fled to our Edward III. whose victories had spread terror in the South of France. Jealous of the newly acquired influence of his rival Charles V., Edward undertook to restore the tyrant of Spain, and owing to the French army's having retired, he found but little difficulty in the task. Henry, flying to his old friends after the defeat, which transferred the crown to the head of Peter, Du Guesclin returned at

It is positively denied by Llorente and others, that any of the refugees in France had the smallest share in bringing about the journey to Bayonne, which has always been regarded as the origin of the war that ensued; had not this taken place, no Spaniard would have acknowledged the new dy-

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the head of another army, and defeated Don Pedro at Montiel, in Navarre. The tyrant having failed in his attempt to escape, was brought to the head quarters of Du Guesclin, where Henry arrived soon after, and being confronted with his competitor, the former drew his sword and killed him on the spot. Although historians do not pretend to justify this fratricide, it has not prevented them from honouring Henry with the surname of liberal and generous. It is by no means a flattering coincidence in our history, that we should have been instrumental in restoring two Princes who possessed so few claims to the confidence or esteem of their subjects.

Although Don Pedro has been justly considered as amongst the most inexorable of her feudal tyrants, Spain is not without her obligations to him. His conduct in according an amnesty to those who took an active part against him, during his struggle with Henry, is still spoken of with gratitude; and has been very properly held out as an example which Ferdinand ought to have followed. Seeing that he had not sufficient means of defending Burgos, Pedro retired, leaving the inhabitants at liberty to accept his rival: upon this, they invited Henry to enter the city; and, to prevent the excesses of his soldiery, even swore allegiance, and received their new monarch with acclamations. When the English allies of Pedro enabled him to re-enter the city, no punishment whatever was inflicted either on the inhabitants of Burgos, or any other part of the Peninsula, though the principal cities had opened their gates to Henry in the same way.

nasty. The sole and only promoters of this journey were Infantado, San Carlos, Escoiquiz and Macanaz. Finally, the commentator proves, that Ferdinand himself, aided by the members of his family, most of the grandees, ministers, and members of the old government, were exclusively the cause of King Joseph's establishment; and that their adherence was both spontaneous and sincere till the battle of Baylen, which induced many to change their opinions, concluding, from this event, that there was some chance of successfully opposing the arms of Napoleon.

So decided was the hatred and hostility of the servile faction to the victims comprehended in the above royal order, that the most effectual measures were immediately adopted for putting it into the strictest execution. Non-commissioned officers and privates, also those who had not attained their twentieth year, were the only exceptions made in this decree, which states that even these were to be considered as proofs of special bounty on the part of his Majesty. Amongst the refugees in France, there were above twelve thousand who could not avail themselves of the exemptions, while the number of persons affected by the measure in Spain, was estimated at more than double that number. It will scarcely be credited, that those who expressed their feelings on the publication of this inhuman proscription, were denounced for their temerity, and accused of disaffection to the *paternal* government of Ferdinand

It is needless to follow these martyrs to a cause, which they regarded as inseparable from the best interests of Spain, through that long probation of suffering and poverty they were destined to sustain for several succeeding years. The circumstance of being excluded from their oppressed and unhappy country, after having done their utmost to effect its regeneration and ameliorate the condition of the people, was quite enough, without its being aggravated in a thousand different ways by the agents of their enemies in France. It will ever be a subject of deep regret to the friends of Spain and humanity, that the glorious events of March last, were not also marked by an immediate amnesty in favour of the Afrancesados. In recalling those of their own friends who had been driven from their country subsequently to the return of Ferdinand, the Liberales were bound in justice and honour to extend a similar indulgence to the followers of King Joseph: in omitting to bury the senseless animosities of the past, the men who were brought back to power by the army of La Isla and its immortal chiefs, have lost their surest claim to the applause of contemporaries and admiration of posterity.

The patriots of 1812, must have known that none of the old laws of the monarchy were applicable to the Afrancesados, an important fact fully recognised by the Cortes; * while the former his-

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* Augustin Arguelles the present minister of the interior, was

tory of Spain teemed with precedents in favour of unconditional amnesty; nor do they require to be told that conciliation was never more called for by the situation of any country. Upon the whole, and after a most careful examination of the subject, I am truly sorry to be obliged to confess that it has been totally out of my power to discover one rational motive for the policy of the present ministers towards the adherents of Joseph Bonaparte.

If those who come after us, find some difficulty in giving credence to the accumulated atrocities of Ferdinand VII.'s government while he was a despot in the hands of a cruel and sanguinary faction, they will not be easily prevailed on to believe that many months were suffered to elapse after the re-establishment of a constitution founded on the immutable basis of liberty and justice, before the Afrancesados obtained permission even to cross the frontier, much less return to the bosom of their families!

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foremost among those who maintained this doctrine in the Cortes of 1812.

LETTER VII.

Reign of Terror.—Conduct of the Allied Powers.—Motives of the Servile Faction.—Plans formed at Valençay.—Policy suggested by the King's Situation: Perfidy of his Advisers.—Breaches of Faith with the Public Creditors.—Restitution of Church Property.—Frauds practised on French Creditors.—Effect of New Measures.—System of Finance and Taxation.—Selfish Conduct of the Priesthood.—Royal Order in their Favour.—Bribery and Corruption at Court, and in the Tribunals.—Facility of Imprisonment.—Denunciations.—Inquisition.—Banditti.—Anecdotes of Melchor's Band.—Treatment of Foreigners, especially of British subjects.—Restrictions on English Commerce.—Commercial Treaties.—Intercourse between the Courts of London and Madrid.—Light in which Spain was regarded by other Nations, and by the Holy Alliance *in Particular*.—Congress of Vienna.—Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Administration of Pizarro.—United States.—Remarkable Saying of Ferdinand.

Madrid, September, 1820.

Reflecting on the general state of Europe at the period of Ferdinand's return, and recollecting those impressive lessons which the French revolution, and its war of twenty-five years, had given to sovereigns and their ministers, it is impossible not to attribute to the blindest infatuation, united to the worst intentions, the revival of that system, of which the foregoing account of the persecuted patriots offers but a very feeble illustration.

Perceiving that the diplomatic representatives of the Allied Powers, assembled at Paris in 1814, took no precautions for maintaining the Constitution, or protecting the persons of those who had so mainly contributed to their recent triumph over Napoleon, every sentiment of reason and humanity, no less than a sense of what was due to their own interests, must have suggested a line of policy diametrically opposed to that adopted by the restored Monarch and his advisers. Where the path of duty was so clearly traced, it would be a perversion of justice to show the smallest indulgence towards men, whose crimes were premeditated, and an affectation of candour to ascribe to error or ignorance the pernicious conduct so evidently the result of unprincipled hypocrisy.

Were it not for the plans formed at Valençay, and which were so well seconded by the servile faction and priesthood here, amnesty and conciliation, such as had been proclaimed by Louis XVIII., and guaranteed by Ferdinand in his last treaty with Napoleon, would no doubt have become the basis of his future government. It is really astonishing, how this Prince, with all his weakness and inexperience, could have been prevailed on to pursue a course so widely different, where the motives to act with indulgence and moderaration seemed irresistible. I need hardly repeat that kind of treatment which was due to his people; as to the legislators of Cadiz, they had established eternal claims to his gratitude, while those of Bayonne merely acted in obedience to the peremptory injunctions of himself and Charles IV.

In alluding to the events of the last six years, it has been justly observed, that the Genius of evil had taken possession of the land; for, into whatever department of administration you look, the same injustice and prodigality, oppression and improvidence, strike the eye. The examples I am about to adduce, will enable you to judge, whether lawless violence on the one hand, and patient endurance on the other, have not been carried as far in Spain, as under the most galling despotisms of ancient or modern times.

It was well worthy of those who persuaded Ferdinand to govern in the manner of his ancestors, to commence by adopting that principle of expediency familiar to former reigns. When the boundless extravagance of the Court, and its repeated breaches of good faith with the public creditor, had reduced the kingdom to a state bordering on bankruptcy, it is worthy to be remarked, that to remedy the numerous evils arising from the financial embarrassments, one of the first measures of Joseph's government was to suppress the monastic establishments, and appropriate their revenues to paying off the national debt. This salutary decree was afterwards confirmed by the Cortes: a great number of the estates were accordingly sold by public auction; and many had even passed into the hands of a third purchaser. Several creditors were paid in grants of these national domains; and as some holders of stock had lent large sums in the reign of Charles IX., and even Philip V., they were of course entitled to the principal and arrears of interest suspended in 1808.

The re-establishment of the sinking fund, dissipated by the old king, Godoy, and the panders of the Court, was amongst the most useful and popular measures of the Cortes of 1812, which had also added the estates of the holy office to those of the convents, already appropriated by the ministers of King Joseph. Such was the confidence inspired by this arrangement, that the *Vales Reales*, almost extinct on the abdication of Charles IV., were at a considerable premium on the restoration of his son. A foundation having been thus laid for the revival of public credit, and a provision made for reimbursing those who had vainly relied on the faith of the former government, Spain enjoyed the novel prospect of future prosperity, when a Royal Order, dated on the 20th of May, 1814, decreed the restitution of all church property, whether belonging to the convents or Inquisition, without making any distinction between the estates which were actually sold, those remaining in the possession of the first purchaser, or that had passed into the hands of a third person. Neither was the purchase-money to be returned, or the smallest compensation made for expences incurred for building and other improvements. It would have been impossible for the prevailing faction to devise a more effectual mode for completely destroying the hopes of the nation, and counteracting at one blow all the benefits derived from the Cortes and government of King Joseph. But this fatal edict was no less ruinous in a national point of view, than by its operation on individuals; more particularly the Afrancesados, many of whom had made large purchases in church lands. A number of foreigners, who had speculated in these domains, were also defrauded of their property in the same unceremonious way. To prove how perfectly indifferent the ministers of Ferdinand were to public opinion, it is said that the Council of Castile was never consulted on the propriety of issuing such a decree, so that it emanated altogether from the *Camarilla.*

The conduct of the ministry was marked by another breach of faith, if possible more palpable than the above; one that proves there was no degradation to which they could not submit. Amongst the stipulations exacted from France on the re-establishment of the Bourbons, it was agreed that all debts contracted by the French Government and authorities here, should be liquidated with as little delay as possible. Pursuant to this arrangement, several Spanish subjects had actually recovered considerable sums from the ministers of Louis XVIII. When this circumstance was communicated to Macanaz and his friends, a Royal Order appeared, calling upon all those who had monies due from the French Government, to place the vouchers and other papers authenticating their claims, in the hands of a junta, stated by the Royal Order to have been named for the express purpose of aiding the creditors to recover the amount of their respective debts. No sooner had the Central Junta, as it was styled, commenced its operations, than thousands of the creditors came forward and delivered up their accounts, fully relying on the paternal solicitude expressed for their interests in the Royal Order. As soon as the Central Junta had succeeded in collecting the papers of the various claimants, another Board of Commissioners, entitled *La Junta Real,* or Royal Junta, was appointed to act at Paris, in order, as announced by the official Gazette of Madrid, to receive the different debts and distribute them to the creditors. Thus far matters could not proceed better; the claimants were full of hope, and already thought the money in their possession; their expectations were still farther encouraged by the facility which attended the recovery of those sums claimed previous to the nomination of the Juntas. Having ascertained that the principal part of their debts were paid at Paris, the creditors naturally applied to the *Junta Central* here; but what was their astonishment on being told that there were still various difficulties to surmount, and they must therefore patiently await the result. On another occasion, the wants of the Government were alleged as the cause of withholding the monies thus recovered, but all the parties concerned were assured of final payment. In this manner were the creditors put off from year to year, till they at length discovered that the whole of the money received at Paris was appropriated to the private uses of persons about the Court: nor have the claimants been ever able to procure a farthing of their property thus flagitiously seized.

As the continued exigencies of the war had reduced all classes of the people to a state of comparative poverty, the immense possessions now restored to the Priesthood and Inquisition, must have produced a twofold effect; first, in depriving those entrusted with the management of the finances, of the only means of sustaining public credit; and in the next place, by destroying all confidence in the restored government. While thousands of the monks and priests, who had been recently taught to live by their industry or assisted in defending their country, flocked to re-people the convents, and occupy the church livings, the ministers were devising means to supply the deficiency occasioned by the decree of May 20th. Every thing being brought back to correspond with the system of rule pursued previous to 1808, many excellent regulations established by the ministers of Joseph and the Cortes were of course abolished, while a mode of taxation the most unjust and arbitrary supplied their place. In addition to fresh imposts on houses, lands, and articles of consumption, exorbitant duties were laid on the imports of every country in amity with Spain; and, strange as it may appear, British commerce was more heavily taxed than that of any other nation.

Finding that new taxes only prevented the payment of those already imposed, recourse was had to forced loans, which, though generally unproductive, became indispensable to a government conducted upon such principles. To prove how little the clergy sympathised in the sufferings of the people, or cared for the ministers, it is worthy of remark, that though exempted from the payment of various charges on the tythes and other property decreed by the Cortes*, when now called upon to fill up a loan negociating by the Government, on the condition that the reimbursement of whatever they advanced should be guaranteed on a very productive tax, the utmost they did towards meeting the wishes of Government, was to come forward with a tenth part of the sum required, and which had been even offered in the first instance by themselves. Thus much for the gratitude of a body, for whose sake the nation was reduced to this deplorable condition.

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* This most indulgent decree was issued on the 24th of June, 1814, and is couched in the following terms —

"The esteem and consideration in which I hold the clergy of my kingdoms, and of which they have rendered themselves so worthy by their piety and zeal for the good of the state; the confidence I entertain that they will hasten, as they have always done, to contribute with generosity to the wants of the state, determine me to exempt the property and tythes of the clergy from those imposts and contributions to which they were subjected by the decrees of Jan. 25th, 1811, and June 16th, 1812, issued by the Cortes (self-styled) general and extraordinary. These decrees will therefore be regarded as null and void."

(Signed) "FERDINAND."

The natural result of such disorder in the finances, and poverty amongst the people, was an impossibility, on the part of government, to pay any of its servants with regularity; hence, a system of bribery and corruption unequalled in the most abandoned period of Spanish history. The daily traffic in places even of the highest rank, facility of bribing the Judges and their dependents, not to mention the various other means resorted to for influencing the decrees of the tribunals, is a matter so well known, and of such public notoriety here, that to adduce a few isolated cases might appear invidious; particularly where the whole community seems to have been carried along by the fatal example of those who had usurped all the power of the state. The case of the Prime Minister, Macanaz, already noticed, furnishes a pretty fair illustration of the manner in which the affairs of this country were administered. Each head of a department, every judge and other public functionary, had his train of agents who coalesced with him in the work of corruption. As to the Court, there were no means of obtaining patronage or protection there, except through the influence of money or prostitution of virtue. All the avenues to the royal presence were occupied by persons ever ready to take a bribe, or abuse the confidence of their master; and although it should also be stated in proof of Ferdinand's disposition to hear the complaints of his subjects, that he was at one time extremely accessible, those around him took good care that none of his good intentions should be put into execution. What was the use, it has been asked, for any one to obtain a promise, when its fulfilment depended on the faith of such men as Alagon, Ostolaza, and Lozano de Torres? With respect to the ministers of state, the practice of offering them bribes through secretaries and other followers, had become so common, that it ceased to excite either indignation or surprise: was a lucrative appointment to be obtained, a contract entered into, or a trading licence procured, the applicant had only to "put money in his purse," wait on the minister's confidential man of business, and he was sure of success, except another had come better provided with the needful. Did any person feel anxious to obtain a favourable decision in the courts of law, he hastened to the judge or fiscal (always accessible to such visitors), told his story, and presented a douceur, upon which positive assurances of support were given, even though the termination of the causes might never be contemplated. When favours were to be solicited by those who could not themselves visit the capital, a wife, a sister, or other female relative was deputed to supply their place here;

of the immense numbers who were thus employed during the last six years, I have been confidently informed that very few succeeded in obtaining the object of their solicitude, without sacrifices which none but villains hardened in profligacy and callous to the dictates of virtue would have required*.

If, upon any occasion, a litigant happened to obtain a favourable decree in the courts, his opponent, by paying a sufficient bribe, found no difficulty in procuring a royal order to suspend, or even reverse the judgment. Of the numerous anecdotes in circulation here to illustrate this singular fact, I shall only mention the case of Madame Piedra of Cadiz. Property to the amount of 18,000,000 of reals having been withheld from this lady by the executors of her late husband, she went to law for its recovery, and a verdict was given in her favour by the Supreme Tribunal of Seville and Council of Castile. Notwithstanding the exact uniformity of these two decisions, her adversaries, the holders of the property, succeeded in procuring a royal order, through the medium of Lozano de Torres, Minister of Grace and Justice, by which both the above decrees were suspended, nor has she to this day been able to obtain any farther satisfaction.

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* The antichambers of ministers and court favourites were constantly thronged with females of various ranks and ages, from a duchess down to the peasant's daughter. Some idea of the estimation in which many of these ladies were held, may be formed, when it is added, without fear of contradiction, that the libertines of the capital were in the habit of frequenting these female levees, for the sole purpose of cultivating the good opinion, and forming assignations with the fair suitors!

Referring to the tribunals, every shadow of equity and justice had disappeared in them: the only care of those appointed to administer the laws, seemed to be that of increasing the number of litigants, for they never dreamt of terminating a cause once submitted to their consideration. Such was the facility of throwing any person into prison, and the avidity for victims, that it was only necessary for the accuser to appear before a judge, go through the ceremony of making his declaration, and the object of hatred or revenge, no matter how innocent, whether a relative or friend, was instantly consigned to a dungeon, there to remain for an indefinite period. It ought to be added in order to complete the picture, that of the many thousands thus committed during the reign of terror, and where the parties proved their perfect innocence, there is not an instance on record of any punishment being inflicted on their calumniators.

While the various commissions for the trial of the patriots, were occupied in prosecuting for political opinions, the civil courts did not fail to encourage that system of endless litigation which formed so prominent a feature under the former reign. Nor was the inquisition idle: this tribunal possessed all the powers with which it had been originally invested; numerous arrests took place by its mandates, and although the mode of punishing its victims may have been in many instances less cruel than heretofore, the motives of arrest and imprisonment were equally unjust and frivolous.

The inevitable consequences of this corrupt and iniquitous system of rule, were almost coeval with its commencement,—industry and commerce became as it were extinct; all the public works, projected or begun under the Cortes were abandoned; the charitable institutions and hospitals were also shamefully neglected, while the prisons of the Peninsula, became one general scene of disease, wretchedness and immorality.

Driven to the last resource of poverty, goaded to madness by their tyrants civil, religious, and political, as well as encouraged by the weakness of the government, numbers of the peasantry left the fields where cultivation held out no hopes of reward, and joining the numerous deserters from the army, formed themselves into banditti, who secured the provinces, impeding all communication, and spreading terror in every direction. The organization of these marauders, and perfect impunity with which their depredations were continued for several years, was never exceeded, even in a country celebrated for such associations. It would in fact have been impossible for a well disciplined body of regular troops, led on by an able general, to obtain more complete possession of that portion of Estremadura, through which the high road from Lisbon to Madrid passes, than the well known band of Melchor composed of many hundred individuals, most of whom had served in the Guerilla Corps during the war of independence.*

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* The depredations of this band were continued for more than three years; when they did not assassinate, they were in the habit of retaining the captives till ransomed: the sums demanded depended on the rank of the prisoner, and his probable means of payment. Several English travellers were plundered and sacrificed by them. Melchor their chief, was one of the most cool and determined robbers of modern times; but, without a particle of that chivalrous spirit which distinguished his predecessors of the seventeenth century, like those of whom Le Sage and Schiller have converted into such fascinating heroes.

Whenever there happened to be a dearth of travellers on the road, Melchor took post in the neighbourhood of Badajos, Cuidad Rodrigo or some other town in its vicinity; hence letters were dispatched to one or two rich proprietors, desiring they would drive so many head of cattle; deposit certain articles of merchandize, or a sum of money, in a particular spot, on such a day, at the peril of their lives. One of the commission which was at last named to rid the province of this terrific association, and with whom I travelled from Zaragoza to this place, has assured me, he had heard of no single instance, in which these preremptory invitations of Melchor were not scrupulously obeyed. Had it been otherwise, said he, their fate would most assuredly have been decided by a stilletto.

Next to Melchor's band, that which occupied the passes of the Siera Morena, was most dreaded; like the predatory hero of Estremadura, its leader also enjoyed the privilege of impunity, Such being a specimen of the internal state of Spain from 1814, till the insurrection of La Isla, and the treatment experienced by all classes of the people, it cannot be matter of surprise, that those foreigners who ventured to trust their persons and property in this country, could find no security for either: plunder, indiscriminate plunder, being the great object, as well with the mountain robber, as the minister of state, or underling of office, there was not much distinction made between individuals or the nations to which they belonged. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance, and not unworthy of record, that, whenever an opportunity occurred of plundering a British subject, or exercising acts of wanton tyranny, he was selected in preference to the native of every other country. Considering the nature of our previous alliance with Spain, and the fact of our having virtually placed Ferdinand on the throne, it was hardly to be expected, that his gratitude would have been manifested by laying unprecedented imposts on our manufactures; throwing our merchants into prison, and stripping them of

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until the ground occupied by his followers, might be regarded as a conquered territory. To prove that neglect and indifference on the part of the government, was alone the cause of their success, the special commission had not been appointed more than a few months, when it succeeded in dispersing the freebooters, of whom, not less than seventy, with Melchor at their head, were executed.

their property, without any cause in the first instance, or eventually showing the smallest inclination to afford them compensation and ~~ad~~redress.

While Spain presented this scene of injustice, anarchy and crime, there was no want of that hypocrisy which is also, in other countries, the inseparable attendant on corruption and misgovernment. After what I have stated relative to the general administration of affairs, you will find some difficulty in believing that, in the midst of such unexampled cupidity, and vice emanating directly from those possessed of all the power, various decrees should be promulgated for the encouragement of knowledge and virtue! By a decree issued in 1815, six agricultural schools were established in the chief provincial cities of the Peninsula; according to another royal order, ecclesiastical benefices of a certain class, together with pensions of a particular description, hitherto chargeable on church property, were appropriated to the support of parochial seminaries, houses of industry and hospitals. The preamble of a third was in the following words; his Majesty being thoroughly convinced that ignorance is the parent of every error and crime, to which human nature is liable, and that a solid instruction is the most efficacious mode of combating the one, and destroying the other, has named a junta, which shall be charged with drawing out a plan of general education for all the youth of his kingdom!

At a more recent period of this frightful reign, orders were published and steps taken to introduce the Lancasterian system; but I need not say the object in thus talking of amelioration, was rather with a view of amusing the multitude with false hopes, and drawing their attention from what was passing, than to put a single measure of national utility into execution.

Spain has not only been acted on by that general impulse which had produced so striking a change in public opinion throughout Europe, but there were particular causes which made any attempt to re-establish despotism in the Peninsula peculiarly difficult and unwise. So many superstitions had been torn up by the roots during the French invasion—superstitions alike connected with the old ecclesiastical as well as the civil despotism, that a determination to re-engraft the blind servility of the sixteenth century upon the information—though not indeed very generally diffused—of the nineteenth, was as vain as it was daring. A nobler example of effective strength, growing out of seeming disorganization and weakness, was never presented than that of the resistance of Spain to French aggression; for no calculation, founded upon an honest comparison of the strength of the hostile parties, could have anticipated the final result. That result was brought about by a bold but uncalculating obstinacy. "The enemy is there and must be extirpated!" The Spaniards never contrasted their inefficient means of defence with the gigantic power against which they had to struggle, but every patriot knew he was *something* in the balance; he brought that something—each did what he could, and all was done.

But in the course of events, a singular change could not but be produced in the public mind. Though the name of the King had become one of the watch-words of the friends of liberty—though his youth, his exile, his imprisonment, had all served as motives of sympathy towards him, and as grounds of abhorrence towards Napoleon and his government, it could not be forgotten that Ferdinand, as an individual, had done nothing for the cause of independence, but, on the contrary, had demeaned himself by the lowest prostrations and the most cringing servility at the feet of the French Emperor. An absolute monarch then was no necessary ally of national independence, and was not quite so closely connected with national glory and reputation as courtiers had represented. On the other hand, the events which broke up the monastic system in Spain, if they served to excite feelings of indignation against the irreligious intruders, and to lead the people to sympathise more deeply with their victims, brought the regular clergy into contact with the nation, and dissipated all the delusions which had been created by a belief of their peculiar sanctity and virtue. Hitherto they had only been seen surrounded by the splendour, and forming part of the splendour, of a gorgeous and ceremonial religion; their idle habits, their secret vices, were excluded from general observation—but as they mingled with the mass of mankind, they were found to possess a very sufficient portion of human errors. That personal respect which had been created by fraud working upon folly, began to dissipate where the fraud was unveiled and the folly partly enlightened. The "mighty stream of tendency" cannot be turned backward by idle words, even from the lips of royalty, though modern Canutes will not learn this important lesson.

The arbitrary and systematic restrictions upon commerce have long been one of the chief characteristics and heaviest opprobriums of Spanish policy. Under the government of Ferdinand, these restrictions have been tightened and rendered more numerous; but commerce thrives in the sunshine of freedom; it is necessarily chilled and contracted by the gloom of despotism. The hateful spirit, and almost the whole machinery of the old Spanish despotism, was, however, restored by the measures of Ferdinand.

The jealousy against the interests of Britain, which had been implanted by the policy of France, took a deeper root under the calamitous influence of his government. But this beloved King, as he has been often called, would have acted inconsistently if he had not displayed his ingratitude towards the British, who had taken so leading, so essential, so commanding a part, in the promotion of his deliverance, and in the accomplishment of his restoration, since he had displayed such deep, such signal, such unexampled ingratitude towards many of the most meritorious and energetic of his own countrymen; to so many of those politicians and military officers who had so materially contributed to bring about the same result.

Spain, but a few centuries ago, was one of the most powerful and important countries in the world. How many obeyed, how many opposed, how many dreaded, how many admired her! Of politicians and of historians she was one of the principal themes. By tyranny, by bigotry, and by the hateful operation of the Inquisition; by unnecessary wars, by the excessive size of her foreign possessions, by the establishment of monopolies, and by the impolitic expulsion of a large proportion of the most active and industrious of her inhabitants, she has been extremely weakened, and has become quite a secondary power: but her native energies, her latent capabilities, are still great and extensive. On the altar of freedom her genius may be rekindled, and her political regeneration will, it may be expected, be found to be the commencement of a new era of happiness and prosperity. But scarcely is it to be hoped, that its dawnings will be unclouded by difficulties and disasters.

With respect to Spain and Great Britain, a judicious commercial treaty is one of the greatest desiderata. Spain is one of the most agriculturally productive, and Great Britain is one of the most industrious countries in Europe, at the same time that it is super-eminent in skill. If we consider the diversities of climate, of produce, of manufactures, and of capital, in Great Britain and Spain, the proximity of the two countries, and also the circumstance that France is, from its situation, its extensive population, its vast resources, the enterprising genius of its people, the similarity of its productions to each country, decidedly independent of both, no two states in Europe are better calculated for entering into the closest commercial relations than the two former. Each country has many wants which the other can best supply. A long period must elapse before Spain can become a great manufacturing country, in her present scarcity of skill and pecuniary capital, and whilst her population is so scanty, when it is compared with the productiveness of its climate and the fertility of its soil. Spain will be essentially benefitted by the exchange of many of her super-abundant productions for many of our super-abundant manufactures. Our manufactures, if we consider their price and their intrinsic value, do, on the whole, surpass those of every other country; and our merchants have the largest pecuniary means, and, if we except perhaps our descendants, the Anglo-Americans, the boldest spirit of enterprise.

To the British, the wool, the wines, the oil, the fruit, and the barilla, are all very acceptable, and, if her government were wise, they would more extensively encourage that neglected department of their agricultural economy, the plantation of mulberry trees, with the increase of silk-worms and of silk. It is true, the Spanish wool is become an object of less consequence to the British merchant and manufacturer than it formerly was, because the wool of Germany, under the restricted name of Saxony, has been greatly improved, and has become so acceptable in our manufactories. But, on the other hand, Spain has much less wool to export than she had at the commencement of the present century, because her flocks have been thinned from the effects of the war, and the rapacity of the French, very many of her sheep having been sold, and very many slaughtered.

Never did the statesmen of any country lose more favourable opportunities of promoting the manufactures and commerce of their country, than did the representatives of Great Britain during the epoch of the Congress of Vienna, and during the drawing up of the articles of the treaty of Paris, and at the period of its conclusion. It was a critical and commanding moment, the great advantages of which they ought to have seized. To Spain the same remarks are applicable. How important, how substantial, how splendid had been our services with respect to that country; and, at one time, how great was our influence! The basis of a treaty of commerce, advantageous to both countries, most beneficial to the agriculturists and consumers and finances of Spain, and to the industry and commerce of Britain, might have been broadly as well as beneficially laid.

The privileges of British subjects have often been violated, and their honourable pursuits and commercial undertakings frequently thwarted under the iron sway of Ferdinand.

What Bourgoing says of his countrymen antecedently to the period of the French revolution, will perhaps be thought applicable with still more force to the British in Spain:—"The privileges of foreigners were not more frequently violated in regard to any other nation than the French, because the latter have more than any other foreigners of that kind of industry which irritates, and of that kind of success which excites jealousy. Governments, like individuals, often vent their spleen upon their best friends, while their civilities are reserved for indifferent powers whom they dread, or to whom they think it their interest to show indulgence."*

A commercial treaty between Spain and the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which should reflect credit on the abilities and vigilance of a British diplomatist, would prevent in future such vexatious infringements upon the equitable rights of British merchants resident in Spain.

It is the interest of Spain to cultivate rather the commerce of Great Britain than that of France, because the productions of the climate and soil of France are not sufficiently distinguished from those of Spain to be valuable to the latter country, and because Great Britain must be acknowledged (even the legislators of France would themselves acknowledge it,) to be decidedly superior in the greater number of her manufactures, if we take jointly into consideration their varieties, their qualities, and their prices.

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* Bourgoing, vol. iii. Chap. VII. p. 176.

The loss of her American colonies will make Spain less fond of restrictions, and less prone to indulge a narrow and jealous system. European commerce being become more important, will occupy in her eyes a broader space. The establishment of political freedom will also occasion her to become a more desirable and eligible country, with which trade can be extensively carried on.

The Spanish restrictions on trade have in a great degree defeated their own purpose. They have tended to separate her colonies from the mother country, and contributed to render smuggling triumphant; at the same time that they have assisted in occasioning foreigners to carry on a large part of the commerce of Spain in the principal ports, as well as in those of her colonies. In no country has smuggling, in proportion to the general amount of its trade, been so extensive, nor have smugglers been so numerous, as in Spain. Bourgoing, before alluded to, who was secretary to the French legation at Madrid, in the year 1777, and minister plenipotentiary in the same court in 1792, has some admirable observations on this subject, which apply to the present state of Spain with increased force.—"Smuggling," says he, "cannot fail to be naturalized wherever prohibitions are numerous, and the temptations to infringe them numerous and highly alluring; wherever the profits which it affords are considerable enough to be shared with those who, being but indifferently paid to prevent, find it much more their interest to connive at these proceedings. The contraband trade has not, upon the whole, more active or faithful agents, than the lower class of Custom-house officers. How many resources does fraud discover, when the persons appointed to prevent it become its accomplices? When smuggling is once naturalized, in vain you may cut down its stem to a level with the ground—it soon sends forth fresh shoots. Those engaged in this traffic conceal themselves in the moment of danger. No sooner is it over, than interest resumes its old habits, and cupidity its former boldness."*

The conclusion of a judicious treaty of commerce, between Great Britain and Spain, is however an affair of considerable difficulty; the subjects of Great Britain, or rather all foreigners, are divided into three, or at least into two classes; into those commercial men, who are little more than birds of passage, who wing their way into Spain only for a time; into those who are domiciliated, and into those who having taken an oath of allegiance to Spain or the Spanish Government, have become almost or altogether Spanish subjects. The wording of a commercial treaty requires to be closely attended to. How often do doubtful or vague expressions leave a wide and dangerous latitude to the caprice, and, in consequence, to the extortion of the officers of the customs! How often have British goods been most vexatiously detained in Spanish custom houses! In what a multiplicity of instances have they been finally confiscated! In proportion as commerce is rendered unpromising and precarious, and as it is loaded with unnecessary and injurious restrictions, the risks of the merchants, who export from one country, and who import into the other, become serious and numerous; both the one and the other must be indemnified for their frequent disappointments, their occasional losses and dangers, and their constant anxieties, risks and extra expences.

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* Bourgoing, vol. iii. Chap. VII. p. 182.

Hence the manufacturers and merchants of the exporting country, who in the instance alluded to, would be those of Great Britain, would have a less extent of business; the amount of business which they did transact would be of a less advantageous nature; and the consumers in Spain, the importing country, would have a higher price to pay for the commodities they purchased, and would therefore make use of a less quantity of them, and would contract for them a less degree of fondness. Both countries would be materially benefited by the diminution of the risks and of the perplexities of merchants.

A liberal, a well considered, a correctly expressed treaty of commerce between Spain and our own country would be beneficial, perhaps equally beneficial to both parties: it would increase the employment of the manufacturers of Great Britain, would promote most materially the interests of her ship-owners, and her merchants, and at the same time, that it increased by its operation the comforts of a large portion of the people of Spain, who made use of British manufactures, would promote the languid husbandry of that country, by opening a wider door for the exportation of her products.

Less of embarrassment on the part of the Spanish Government, less of altercation, and less of troublesome detail to the British Ambassador, and the British Consuls, would be the happy results of a clear, a rational, and a liberal treaty of commerce; which should be unclogged by unnecessary restrictions, and free from the reproach of excessive duties. Independently of bigotry, which must be gradually enfeebled by the diffusion of enquiry and the influence of the press, and independently of the grand source of misery and mis-government, despotism, which has been happily subverted in Spain, as well as in Portugal, the embarrassed state of the finances of Spain has been one of the evils which has most seriously pressed upon the people, and upon the government.

This has, no doubt, been, in a great degree the result of the extravagance of the court of Madrid; but it is also, in a great measure, to be attributed to her harsh and impolitic restrictions on foreign trade, and to the wide prevalence and active energies of smuggling, which rob the Spanish Exchequer of a great portion of its receipts, at the same time that they nurse a spirt of insubordination, disobedience and immorality, and prepare a very numerous class of strong, courageous, and enterprising individuals, to set the laws and the government at defiance, and, when the public tranquillity is threatened, to raise the standard of revolt, and encourage the hostile machinations of the ultra-royalist government and leaders in France. In short, if a wise, a comprehensive, a well digested commercial treaty was concluded between the two countries, there would be more security, more trade, more profit, more industry, more harmony of feeling, and more closeness of intercourse.

It is one of the many curses attendant on despotism, that law becomes doubtful and capricious in its operation; without reference to circumstances, an attention to justice, or to evidence, it frequently disregards the opinions, and subverts the decrees of the established tribunals.

A high and dignified spirit of honour was formerly one of the characteristics of the Spanish nobility and gentlemen; and these feelings, though they perhaps shone with peculiar lustre in the two

Castiles, were by no means confined to these provinces. If formerly two parties were at variance, and the injured party obtained a verdict in its favour from one of the tribunals, that verdict was, in a great majority of instances, adhered to and acted upon. But, under the reign of Ferdinand, who was in no common degree the dupe of favourites and the patron of the worthless, these verdicts were very often totally disregarded; and a royal order, a decree of the sovereign, annulling the decision of the established tribunal, was frequently promulgated, and resorted to, to an unprecedented extent, which proved an overthrow of justice and a glaring outrage upon public opinions. The only case, which I shall mention, because it relates to a British subject, will assist in shewing with what extreme facility the decrees of the tribunals were set aside and frustrated.

A very considerable sum belonging to the firm of Hunter, Raine, and Co. of London, happening to be deposited in the hands of a Mr. Mead, many years American Consul at Cadiz, their assignees employed an agent, Mr. M'Dermot, to recover it. Forced to appeal to the courts of justice, both the Chamber of Commerce at Cadiz, and Supreme Council of War here, pronounced decrees in favour of the assignees, and even issued orders for the sequestration and sale of Mr. Mead's property, till the whole amount of the money claimed should be paid. Owing, however, to the machinations of Valejo, Minister of Finance, and of Pizarro, the

Prime Minister, royal orders were obtained for reversing the above decrees ; and neither the repeated applications of Mr. M'Dermot to the ambassador here, or the Government at home, has ever enabled him to recover a fraction of the debt. As to Mr. Mead, he was suffered quietly to depart, and moreover allowed to carry off the whole of his property.

In comparing the treatment of British subjects with that of other nations, at the time of which I am treating, it is no exaggeration to assert, that those of the most insignificant state in Europe enjoyed more security for their persons and property than Englishmen. If, instead of the sacrifices to restore Ferdinand, we had acted as the bitterest enemy of himself and Spain, it would have been impossible to experience more hatred or injustice.

This being the system pursued on every occasion where our merchants were concerned, it remains for me to notice the commercial restrictions to which we have been exposed : these were of the most aggravating description, from the first moment of Ferdinand's return, until the events of last March, and generally amounted to an absolute prohibition.* It would, indeed, have been impossible for the bitterest enemies of England to act with more marked hostility than the ministers of his Catholic Majesty; but, as if they had one policy for our sovereign and another for his subjects, while the work of plunder, indignity, and extortion proceeded unrestrained, the most friendly intercourse was maintained between the two Courts. The marked attention of Sir Henry Wellesley, in going to meet Ferdinand at Valencia and accompanying him to his capital, into which he was escorted by General Whittingham, at the

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* The following authentic Table of the comparative duties laid on British manufactures, between 1796 and 1806, is ex-

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tracted from a representation drawn up by the English merchants resident at Cadiz, and forwarded through Sir Henry Wellesley to the Board of Trade in 1816; but which, so far from producing any good effect, seemed to give new encouragement to the Government of Spain:—

GOODS.	Duties in 1796.	Incr. fr. 1796 to 1806.	Increased in 1806.
Common Baize	Abo. 3 dollars per	Abo. 6 dollars per	10 doll. per piece.
Fine do. . .	4$\frac{9}{1}$ [piece.	9 [piece.	16
South Sea do.	6½	13	16
Second Cloth .	3¼ reals per yd.	7 reals per yd.	27 reals per yard.
Extra Fine. .	5¼	10	27
Superfine . .	10½	20	27
Kerseymere .	7	13	19

* It should be observed, that in 1806, foreign influence prevailed on the Spanish Government to impose the above exorbitant duties. In 1808 they were reduced to the former footing, and remained so till 1815. But no sooner had the servile faction considered themselves as firmly fixed in power, than they caused the duties to be restored to the highest rate, at which they still continue.

head of the cavalry;* the succession of brilliant and costly fêtes which were given to the restored Monarch and his Court, prove with what zeal and sincerity the Prince Regent and his ministers cultivated the good opinion of Ferdinand. In thus cursorily noticing these demonstrations of attachment on our part, I ought not to omit stating that they were followed by an exchange of Orders —the highest in Spain being first sent to the British Ruler, His Excellency Sir Henry Wellesley had the honour of investing Ferdinand VII. with the Order of the Garter on the 16th May, 1815.

If the Spanish King and his ministers required any farther proofs of the esteem and confidence of the responsible servants of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, they must have found it in the patient and more than Christian endurance with which they suffered our commerce to be annihilated, our merchants plundered and imprisoned. But I gladly turn from a subject no less calculated to wound your honest pride, than it has irritated my own feelings, which have been frequently called forth since my residence here by a recital of the various insults and indignities heaped upon our countrymen with impunity, during the reign of terror. The next point to be noticed is not likely to excite so much surprise as the foregoing. I allude to the light in which Spain was viewed by other nations, but more particularly the members of the *Holy Alliance*, owing to whose tacit sanction, if not active co-operation, Ferdinand, one of themselves, was so long permitted to continue his iron sway.

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* It is reported, I know not how truly, that no Spanish General could be found to perform this duty

If ever was realized the state maxim, that weakness and imbecility at home beget hatred and contempt abroad, it took place with regard to Spain. Nor is it necessary for me to remind you, that, from the period of Ferdinand's return till the late insurrection, the obloquy and scorn of Europe were constantly directed toward the rulers of this country, even by those who laboured to establish a similar system of government. It is equally superfluous to dwell on the unequivocal manner in which the public opinion of Europe was expressed. Finding, however, that there was no possibility of imposing silence on the independent portion of the English press, and that remonstrance was ineffectual, all the servile faction could do, was to prohibit those newspapers which had been principally distinguished for their animadversions on the administration of affairs here. An order of the police to this effect was issued in 1814, but not so strictly enforced until after the execution of Porliers, in whose lamented and melancholy fate several of the London papers deeply sympathized.*

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* The *Morning Chronicle* had been previously excluded. I am told, that the spirited manner in which the Editor of this

Amidst that host of ministers who shared by turns the transient and capricious favour of the Monarch, Don Jose Pizarro, who succeeded Cevallos towards the latter end of 1816, and contrived to retain his place till September, 1818, is generally regarded as having, either by his weakness or criminality, most effectually contributed to the degradation of Spain in the eyes of foreign states.

Although the patriots are by no means astonished at the studied contempt shown to the servile government by all the European powers, it does not prevent them from inveighing bitterly against the Congress of Vienna. Don Pedro Labrador, a diplomatist of some celebrity, having been sent to represent Spain at that assemblage, experienced nothing but humiliation and neglect. Forgetting the important services this country had rendered to legitimacy, in the war of independence, it was in vain that its ministers applied for the restitution of Etruria, Parma, Placentia, or Guastala to the rightful sovereign; and for the preservation of which, in the Spanish dynasty,

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Journal opposed the tyranny of Ferdinand, and his superior means of exposing what was passing in the Peninsula, made his Paper an object of peculiar dislike and apprehension. According to the terms of the prohibitory order issued on the subject of English Newspapers, it was intimated to tavern and coffee-house keepers, that the smallest infraction would be punished with ten years hard labour in the galleys and public works.

such sacrifices had been made on former occasions. The little principality of Lucca, in its turn, taken from Tuscany, was all that could be obtained for the Queen of Etruria and her family; while, as truly asserted in Labrador's spirited remonstrance, "Each of the great powers received considerable additions of territory, and, whenever an opportunity offered, aggrandizement to the sovereigns themselves, their relatives and dependents." But to repeat the language of its secretary, M. Gentz, as communicated to the Spanish envoy in 1815: "The Congress had irrevocably fixed the rights of Spain in Italy:" and, as if the chalice of humility had not been sufficiently drained, she was strongly recommended to cede the fortress Olivenza to Portugal!

The abolition of the slave trade by Spain, in 1818, was a measure which could not but meet the applause of every friend to humanity in Europe; nor, whatever may have been their motive, did the ministers of England ever appropriate any portion of the public revenue to a purpose more sacred and praiseworthy, than in compensating the government here, for the loss which might be thus sustained by individuals. But the above transaction was far from retrieving any part of our lost popularity; many well-informed Spaniards having considered it rather as a plan for preserving our colonial prosperity, than an act of disinterested justice towards our hitherto persecuted black brethren. However well-founded these suspicions may be, it is a pity to take away from the merit of a measure, the extreme rarity of which greatly enhances its value. It certainly failed in its effect, and this was not in the least to be wondered at, where the contracting parties on one side were only desirous of laying their rapacious hands upon the money, without caring if the whole human race had been the next moment consigned to perdition. With respect to the final appropriation of the sum paid by England on this occasion, I have it from undoubted authority, that no part whatever went to the indemnification of those interested in the slave trade, which is proved to have rather increased than diminished ever since. Well informed persons here positively assert, that the money thus drawn from the English treasury was divided between the ordinary purposes of corruption and fitting out the expedition intended for South America; but which, thanks to the inscrutable designs of an over-ruling Providence, was destined to give liberty to Spain!

A writer upon the disgraceful administration of Pizarro, and in allusion to the above negociation, asks—" When did the Cabinets of Europe treat on any subject interesting to public morality, much less pay subsidies in its favour?"—Speaking of the Holy Alliance, to which, notwithstanding its uniform treatment of his Catholic Majesty, he became a party in 1817, the same writer observes: " The ostensible and hypocritical object of this combination could not deceive the most superficial: it was palpably a contest at issue with the imprescriptible rights and liberties of mankind; believing, from the perfidious counsels of their ministers and favorites, that they were the enemies of thrones, accustomed to tyranny and despotism, no wonder if their royal and imperial majesties lent a willing ear to any arguments favourable to unlimited power, thence professing an anxious desire to promote union and fraternity among the nations; they united under the hacknied mask of religion, to keep their subjects in a state of perpetual bondage." I am justified in adding, that the anonymous author here quoted, has expressed the sentiments of all the Spanish liberales with whom I have had any intercourse.

Pizarro was justly censured for the treaty with Naples, by which various rights and privileges, formerly enjoyed by the subjects of Spain there, were gratuitously relinquished. It was also during his possession of power, that Russia acquired such an overwhelming preponderance here. The sale of the Russian squadron, one of the most notorious ministerial jobs of that period, was negotiated under the immediate auspices of M. Pizarro, who has the credit of having urged the cession of the Floridas to the United States; a measure of immense importance to Spain, and which was of itself sufficient to call down the execrations of his country.

Since the great powers regarded Spain in so contemptible a light, it is not surprising that minor states should have been influenced by their example. When Portugal sent a body of toops to take possession of Montevideo, the only resource left to the ministers of Ferdinand, was a memorial to the congress then assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle. The sovereigns were, however, either indifferent to his most catholic Majesty's fate, or too busily occupied in completing the division of the spoil, left unfinished at Vienna, and projecting new plans for the suppression of public opinion, to attend to the complaints of Spain. A similar measure was resorted to when the government of the United States seized on Amelia Island, and its sanguinary general occupied the Floridas. By way of adding to the humiliation of Spain, the American President's principal ground of justification for these acts, so little consonant to the moderate professions and frequent appeals of the infant Republic, to the laws of nations, was not derived from any disputes existing between the two countries, or the debt due by Spain to the United States, but merely on account of Ferdinand's impotence to preserve his possessions, and cause his authority to be respected! It was certainly reserved for the publicists of North America to add this new clause to the ponderous folios of Grotius, Puffendorf, and that phalanx of sages who have written so much, and so vainly for the rulers and statesmen of the present day.

After an eloquent comparison between the

Spain of the Cortes, and the Spain of Ferdinand, Florez Estrada sums up his vivid picture, by observing, "that on whatever side the people cast their eyes, nothing but sorrow awaited them. Within all was injustice, slavery and wretchedness: if they looked towards South America, instead of being a mart for their talent and industry, it only presented one vast arena for carrying on a forced and destructive war, whose only object was, to impose chains which the patriots of the mother country were trying to break; a war whose very triumphs could not fail to be converted into weapons against its own liberties!"

Although the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle did not feel any disposition to help Ferdinand out of his difficulties with Portugal or the United States, there is great reason to believe the excesses of his government had excited considerable alarm in some of the crowned heads, lest such a system if persisted in, should bring loyalty into somewhat greater disrepute than it had already fallen through a nameless variety of other circumstances. The consequences of these very natural fears were, that previous to the dispersion of the sovereigns, most of the foreign ambassadors here received orders to remonstrate with Ferdinand on the inevitable tendency of his destructive policy. When the communications on this subject were made, his Majesty is said to have got into a violent passion, exclaiming that, being King by the grace of God, he was only accountable to HIM and his confessor!

Having in the present letter endeavoured to draw a faithful though succinct sketch of the civil and political state of the Peninsula, when deprived of its liberties, the object of my next will be to glance at the treatment of the army, previous to giving some account of the means employed to restore the constitution.

LETTER VIII.

General treatment of the Army after the King's return.—Royal Orders and magnificent Promises :—How these were realized.—Wretched condition of the Troops.—Anecdote.—Bold attempt of Mina to seize the Fortress of Pamplona.—Representations made to Ferdinand, by El Empecinado.—Union of the Patriots, and formation of Secret Societies.—Decrees of the Pope, and Grand Inquisitor.—Assemblage of the Expeditionary Army at Cadiz.—Efforts made to gain over Morillo.—He recants and sails for South America.—Plans of the Patriots, suspended by the disembarkation of Napoleon.—Visit of the Duke d'Angoulême to Madrid.—Insurrection of the Garrisons at Corunna and Ferrol, headed by JUAN DIAZ PORLIER.—Proclamation, Manifesto and Correspondence of that lamented Chief.—He marches towards Santiago.—Conduct of the Priesthood there.—Arrival of the Patriot Column at Ordenes.—Defection of the Serjeants.—Arrest of the General and Officers.—How this event was celebrated in Santiago.—Trial of Porlier:—its Injustice and Irregularity.—Sentence, Execution and Biography of the fallen Hero.

Madrid, September, 1820.

IF the bad faith and uniform injustice of the restored government was displayed in the system pursued towards the civil portion of the community, its ingratitude appears to have been no less strikingly exemplified in the cruel and unmerited treatment of that army, which had given it existence: for without the support of Elio's Corps, the united influence of the priesthood and grandees, great as it was, would never have enabled the servile faction to triumph in 1814.

The return made to the Spanish soldiery is particularly worthy of record, and should be held up as a warning to the military of every other country, who are called upon by the advocates of despotism to assist in abridging the liberties of their fellow citizens. It was natural to suppose, after the recent services of the army, the acclamations with which it hailed the Monarch's arrival, and above all, its fatal credulity in abetting the views of his advisers, that some act of indulgence or liberality would have followed such unequivocal proofs of loyalty and obedience. Instead of this, I am justified in asserting, that the annals of Europe do not contain instances of barbarity and neglect, either so multiplied or glaring as those experienced by the army and navy of Spain, between the period of Ferdinand's return and the insurrection of la Isla.

Agreeably to the plan of deception adopted by ministers, the military system was to be new modelled, and the condition of both officers and men greatly improved. For this purpose, various salutary decrees were promulgated: amongst other arrangements, a junta or board of general officers was appointed to superintend the proposed re-organization; royal orders pompously decreed the immediate creation of a national asylum, for invalid or wounded soldiers and seamen. This splendid monument of munificence was to rival those of Greenwich, Chelsea, and Paris! Pensions were also awarded to those officers who had served in Guerilla Corps, and their rank placed on an equality with that of the line. Nothing in short could be more plausible than the promises now made, with a determination, however, on the part of those who excited such flattering hopes, that they should never be realized.

As many of the persecuted patriots had predicted, it did not require much time to convince the whole army how completely it had been cajoled and betrayed. No sooner did the serviles perceive that they might calculate with certainty on the support of the British Cabinet and Allied Sovereigns, than the officers, and privates began to taste the bitter fruits of helping such men to power. Having first taken care to exile, or imprison, all those suspected of being favourable to the constitution, a number of regiments were disbanded, and replaced by others more congenial to the wishes of the faction. The hardships and privations of every kind, which the military were destined to suffer, commenced almost immediately after the restoration, and increased with rapidity until thousands of those who fought and bled, rather to preserve Ferdinand's title to an abdicated throne than to benefit their country, were left for months together without pay or clothing, and reduced to such scanty supplies of food, as to be under the humiliating necessity of begging alms to procure the means of subsistence!

A detailed account of the miseries endured by the Spanish army, during the reign of terror, would occupy a large space, and present scenes of human suffering, which could not fail to rouse the indignation and excite the sympathy of the most obdurate. I had in my former intercourse with this country, and while Godoy held the reins of power, frequently witnessed the manner in which that minion of corruption degraded the military character of Spain; but it would be unjust not to add, that, the general treatment of the army under his administration was infinitely better in every respect than it met with from the servile faction. Arrears of pay, want of clothing, and a scarcity of food, were by no means unusual in the late reign; and it was not till that of Ferdinand VII. that officers of high rank, both of the naval and military profession, in various cities of the Peninsula, were glad to profit by the obscurity of night to solicit charity. Such being the condition of the officers, what must that of the poor soldiers and seamen have been? From the numerous anecdotes in circulation on this painful subject, it is extremely difficult to account for that patient resignation, with which men bearing arms abstained so long from acts of open violence. This extraordinary constancy in suffering, is singularly characteristic of the Spanish soldiery, and though carried farther than the most slavish advocates of tyranny could justify, it forms their highest panegyric. There were indeed some cases, and those of not unfrequent recurrence, wherein the victims of cruelty and oppression were driven to extremities by inducements which could not possibly be resisted. While on my way to the capital, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with one of Mina's most active assistants in the Guerilla war, now commanding a regiment of cavalry in Arragon, and who communicated a variety of the most affecting details relative to the privations of the army. In speaking of himself, my friend, Don Manuel,* did not however lay claim to an equal share of forbearance with his brother soldiers; having assured me that, not many months previous to the recent explosion, such was his wretched state, being left for three whole days without bread for his wife and children, he had recourse to the desperate alternative of seizing his sword, and proceeding to the paymaster's house, where he paced backwards and forwards, before the door, till the latter made his appearance; upon which my friend accosted him in the language inspired by his situation, reproached the paymaster with being the cause of it, and ended by calling upon him to draw, for unless instant relief was given, to prevent his family from perishing with hunger, one of them must fall! This appeal had the desired effect; and what will excite still more surprise, Don Manuel was not called to account for his temerity, so satisfied were the authors of his sufferings that they could not justify their own conduct. Where a single instance of this nature occurred, it would be superfluous to multiply examples of which hundreds scarcely less striking might be cited. It is in fact matter of universal notoriety in Spain, that many of the soldiery stationed at remote points of the kingdom, or in the presidios of Africa, actually died through want: while an insufficiency of food and unwholesome diet subjected most of the garrisons to a train of diseases, which swept off hundreds yearly. When you reflect on this mode of treating an army, to which its rulers were indebted for authority and place, some conception may be formed of the men who succeeded the Cortes and Regency; while a tolerable estimate is furnished of the manner in which the allegiance and fidelity of the Spanish soldier have been tried. Yet, was it with an army thus injured, and finances managed as already described, that the counsellors of

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* It would be an injustice to pass over the name of this excellent officer, without thus publicly acknowledging his kindness, and above all, the valuable information derived from him on every subject connected with the past and present state of Spain. It is no less agreeable to me to add, that, while the bishops and priests aided by old Lazan, the late *Servile* governor, were doing their utmost to light up the flames of civil war, the vigilance of my friend, and firmness of his brave squadrons, defeated all their machinations, and preserved the tranquillity of Zaragoza. With such men as Don Manuel in the command of her cohorts, Spain would have nothing to apprehend from all the efforts of fanaticism or faction.

Ferdinand proposed to reconquer the new world.*

Those who are most clamorous in their abuse of the Spanish patriots, whether civil or military, generally forget the motives which urged both to any efforts, however desperate, rather than bear a yoke, such as that imposed on them by the Servile faction.

I have in another place, noticed the enthusiasm with which the cry of national independence resounded through the Peninsula in 1808; and towards the conclusion of my third letter, mentioned that several distinguished leaders in the late war offered to support the Cortes against those fanatics who surrounded the King at Valencia. Although the names of Ballasteros, Lacy, El Empecinado, Villa Campa, Mina, Porlier, and a number of minor chiefs, graced this meritorious list, the reasons which induced the fathers of their country to decline the proffered aid cannot be too highly applauded; yet, the misfortunes which followed, make it a subject of deep regret, they should have been so scrupulous, while the heroic resolution of Mina, either to frustrate the designs of the faction, or abandon his native soil until its liberties were restored, was thereby fully justified. Happening to be here when Ferdinand made his entry, and shocked with what he saw, the Guerilla chief is said to have done his utmost towards persuading the other patriot generals to join him in opposing the decree of May 4th; but finding that the influence of the priesthood baffled every hope of success at Madrid, he hastened to Pamplona, where the garrison, consisting of nearly four thousand men, readily came into his views; all were most anxious to proclaim the constitution, when the pusilanimity of some officers, aided by the intrigues of Espelata, the new captain-general, and several priests, forced him to renounce the enterprise. Determined however not to breathe the same air with the newly installed tyrants, Mina fled to France, and remained there until his services were destined to be crowned with better success in the present year.*

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* Although I shall most probably have occasion to refer to this subject in a future letter, yet I cannot now help observing that, of all the delusions which ever befell a government or blinded a nation, the efforts made by the mother country, to regain her influence in the new world, with such a system as that established after Ferdinand's return, is unquestionably one which will most excite the wonder of posterity as it has the pity of all enlightened men of the present day.

Lamentable as it was, to see so large a portion of the upper and middle classes of society approve the continuance of this disastrous war, when every motive of interest and policy urged the necessity of conciliation and peace, the folly of ministers in directing their attacks against the least vulnerable part of that vast continent, may be regarded as the very climax of absurdity. Bolivar had already proved himself more than a match for the best generals Spain possessed in Venezuela, and though he had experienced reverses, the persevering and dauntless genius of this extraordinary man had enabled him to surmount them all, and enew the contest with more activity than before.

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* The reception of Mina in France was very creditable to the ministers of Louis XVIII. Though closely watched by the police

The failure of this bold attempt, does not diminish the merit of him who thus fearlessly stepped forth to avert the impending despotism,

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from his arrival till he departed in March last, he was allowed a liberal pension during his stay at Paris. It has been remarked that this brave and independent patriot ought to have been invited to fix his residence in England; for although by his exertions in the war against Napoleon, he was peculiarly entitled to protection from the Bourbons, he had much stronger claims on the British Cabinet. Whatever the General's feelings with regard to England may have been formerly, I have every reason to believe he now joins in the opinion so universally entertained here, that we are the cause of all those evils which have oppressed Spain within the last six years; since, according to this opinion, it was by the connivance and support of our ministers the constitution was abrogated in 1814.

Unlike too many of his countrymen, Mina makes a proper distinction between the ministers and people of England. I have a particular right to say so; and take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for his hospitable kindnesses to me while at Pamplona, where he has succeeded in conciliating the esteem of all ranks, (except the Serviles) by his justice and moderation as Captain-general of Navarre.

Actuated by the same motives as Lazan at Zaragoza, Mina's predecessor, Espeleta, also a noble and old courtier of Charles IV., has done his utmost to disturb the harmony of the Province, but in vain, though assisted by nearly the whole of the priesthood, of which there is a great number in Pamplona.

The activity and simple mode of living peculiar to the Guerilla chief, might be advantageously imitated by the military men of more Northern climes. Having only reached Pamplona late in the evening, it was eight o'clock before I could wait on the general, who had gone out to take a walk, and pay some visits. Leaving my letters of introduction and address, I had not been at a moment when such a well timed example afforded the most rational hope of rousing the nation from that fatal lethargy into which it had

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more than half an hour at the Posáda, before an aide-de-camp came to welcome my arrival, and invite me to dine with Mina on the following day; but he added that his Excellency would be happy to receive me between six and eight in the morning to take chocolate. The novelty of the first named hour induced me to prefer that, and as it was the first time I had ever been invited to the house of a great man so early, I determined not to keep him waiting.

The Palace of government, an old gothic edifice, is situated on the north side of Pamplona: it is washed by the river Arga, and commands a fine view of the Pyrenees, which rise in majestic grandeur within about ten miles of the city. The first object that attracted my attention on ascending the great staircase leading to the apartment of the captain-general, was the following sentence from the political code, inscribed in large gilt letters over the door: *La Nacion Española es libre e independiente; y no es, ni puede ser, patrimonio de ninguna familia ni persona.* "The Spanish nation is free and independent: it is not, nor can it be, the patrimony of any family or person." On mentioning my name to an orderly, I was led through a long suite of rooms, furnished with the greatest simplicity, to a closet, where I found the hero seated at a small deal table, smoking a segar; he wore a military undress, and had a black silk cap over one of fur; the general seemed to have been busily occupied in writing, but on my entering he rose and received me with the utmost cordiality, begging I would be seated; there were only two chairs in the room, when chocolate, its accompaniment, a glass of spring water, *los azucarillos,* and segar, were served. We had a long conversation on the state of affairs in France and England, after which I took occasion to congratulate his Excellency on the recent accomplishment of his wishes; as well as the part he had himself taken fallen. Had a few of those who shared the popularity of Mina been tempted to adopt a similar course in other places, it is by no means probable that the reign of terror would have been so easily established or long protracted.

Though there seemed to be no disposition manifested by the patriots to renew the project of Mina for some months after his departure, the measures of increasing severity resorted to by government rendered it absolutely necessary for those who were daily menaced with death, exile, or imprisonment, to concert a plan of organization, which might on a future day enable them to hurl the ruling faction from power. Whatever opinion they may have been led to form of Ferdinand, the patriots always regarded him

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in the regeneration of Spain. I then withdrew, being first reminded of my engagement. At dinner, besides Mina, his secretary and staff, the company consisted of several officers of various ranks. Like the unaffected manners of the distinguished host, the repast, though abundant, was plain, and did not last more than three-quarters of an hour, after which coffee and liqueurs were served in another room. When about to retire, the General introduced me to a literary character, well acquainted with the history and antiquities of the city, whom he had invited for the purpose of showing me the public buildings, and other establishments: I then took my leave, in company with the *cicerone,* thus handsomely procured, and did not intrude on his Excellency till the day of my departure for Zaragoza, when he gave me some introductory letters, and amongst others, one to his friend Don Manuel, of whom mention has been already made.

as being totally distinct from his ministers, as well as those mitred and shorn hypocrites who encircled the throne. Conformably to an old custom of the Spanish monarchy, established during its brighter days, and which allows all persons having complaints to make of oppression or irregularity in the system of administration, to address the Sovereign, many powerful appeals were made to the King; and as he insisted on the privilege of giving audience to his subjects, several of the memorials relative to the state of the country were put into his own hands. As this occurred in the case of Don Juan Mantin, sirnamed *El Empecinado*, Ferdinand could not be ignorant of what was passing. This letter, the production of a man, who, like Espoz y Mina, had raised himself from an humble rank of life, is a model of simplicity and natural eloquence, containing within the compass of a few pages, a luminous view of existing evils, and pointing out, with the acuteness of an experienced statesman, the true interests of the monarch. As the above remonstrance may be regarded in the double light of an able exposition, and valuable historical document, you will not perhaps be displeased with one or two extracts.

The honest soldier begins by telling Ferdinand, that it is not a difficult task to flatter kings, though extremely hazardous to tell them the truth without incurring their displeasure. His next care is to compliment those princes, who, animated by a desire of rendering their subjects happy, have listened with a favourable ear to representations, tending to expose the turpitude of their ministers, or to suggestions for the removal of public abuses. Taking it for granted, that his royal master is amongst this number, and presuming, with good reason, on his own fidelity as well, the writer proceeds to contrast the joyful hopes of the nation on Ferdinand's return with the character of those who had obtained his exclusive confidence and friendship: men, says he, who had formerly sought the favour of Godoy; that rendered no service whatever during the war; but remained passive spectators, shut up in Cadiz or Ceuta, while thousands of their countrymen fell daily in the generous struggle for independence. Yet were these individuals grandees, and for the most part bred to a military life; consequently, well able to serve both with their persons and immense wealth. A decided enemy to party distinctions, El Empecinado treats the *liberales* and *serviles* with equal indifference; his principal object is to impress the necessity of forgiveness and oblivion on the mind of his Sovereign; particularly where a diversity of political opinion had been the inevitable result of recent circumstances. An address, full of good sense and moderation, is then put into the mouth of Ferdinand, which his Majesty would have done wisely to adopt. The writer next asks, what those who give the King different advice had obtained? The loss of South America, whose population, already exasperated by the cruelties exercised on them at home, and imprisonment of their representatives in the Cortes, as also the ruin of innumerable families in both hemispheres, were now driven to the last extremity of despair. Such was the effect of policy pursued by his Majesty's advisers, that some lamented the loss of parents, others their wives, husbands, or dearest relatives and friends: while all had to deplore victims sacrificed in a ruinous and unnatural contest; or thrown into dungeons, which had been so filled that it became necessary to convert the asylums of religion into public prisons.

Alluding to another subject, the memorialist exclaims; let your Majesty but deign to cast your eyes for a moment on the finances! What a chaos do they not present! They were but too justly compared to a labyrinth, more complicated than that of Crete: those who enter are irrevocably lost, for it is in vain to attempt extricating themselves. Such is the complication, such the obscurity of this department, that were an angel from Heaven to descend and take charge of it, he must begin by totally destroying the present misshapen edifice; otherwise he would experience the fate of all the others who have so vainly attempted its management. After calling upon the King to convoke the Cortes, according to his solemn promise, as the sole means of restoring confidence and credit, a pointed allusion is made to the ingratitude shewn by the clergy, after the restitution of church property and exemption from the payment of taxes, while the people were borne down by their weight. Here the writer proves what I have before stated; that, instead of coming forward to remedy the evils, created in a great measure by themselves, many individuals, entirely unconnected with government, had been found to make more advantageous offers, and greater personal sacrifices, than the whole hierarchy put together.

With respect to the administration of justice, it is truly observed, that the provinces were a prey to law suits and litigation, mostly springing from the rapacity of the legal profession, and intestine divisions excited by faction. Justice, says the writer, no longer exists for Spain, arbitrary forms, and relentless persecution, having usurped its place. The laws are trampled on, calumny and espionage alone obtain patronage and encouragement. Hence it is, that whoever wishes to consummate the ruin of a relative, neighbour or friend, has only to present himself before a judge, and charge the object of his hatred or jealousy, with an imaginary crime: the accused is thrown into prison, cut off from all communication with his family, and when, after many months of suffering, his innocence is proved, the informer remains unpunished, and not unfrequently reaps the fruit of his iniquity in a lucrative place under government.

The letter of El Empecinado, is dated on the 12th of February, 1815, and was, I am informed, delivered to Ferdinand immediately. Those who knew, by sad experience, the vindictive character of the men through whose hands this energetic appeal would necessarily have to pass, trembled for the fate of the writer, whom they already pictured to themselves loaded with chains and counting the days of an interminable imprisonment. Relying, however, on the justice of his cause, and exact truth of all his statements, the intrepid chief was undaunted; nor could the threats of his enemies, or entreaties of his friends, induce him to leave Madrid, before it was ascertained that his letter had been seen by the ministers as well as the King. Having performed this last sacred act of loyalty and patriotism, El Empecinado retired to Leon, his native province, where he continued silently to deplore the fate of Spain, until a pretext was found for his exile in the ensuing year. This courageous action of a man, unsupported by the influence of family connections, wealth or titles, is still a subject of deserved applause amongst his countrymen; while the power of virtue and conscious integrity over a corrupt ministry is finely illustrated in the forbearance of the court.

The natural result of a system which aimed at the annihilation of freedom and destruction of its advocates, was a corresponding degree of sympathy and union between the victims of tyranny.

This led to the most obvious means of promoting their reciprocal views and interests. As it was suspected that freemasonry had been made subservient to political purposes, all the powers of government, aided by the Holy See, and Inquisition, were directed to the suppression of a sect, which was scarcely known in Spain previous to the French revolution. From the patriotic societies being principally confined to Catalonia, Murcia, and Alusia, Aragon, and Galicia, the captains general, and military commissions, established for trying the liberales, in these provinces, were ordered to pursue such associations with the most rigorous persecution. A fulminating decree of the Pope, on the subject of masonry, was circulated by the Inquisitor General,* and numbers

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* The pontifical edict was affixed to the doors of all the churches of the Peninsula, and accompanied by the following notice, which I have translated from *El Procurador general,* of January 12th, 1815, one of the papers paid by the ministry, and its principal organ.

We Dr. Francis Xavier, Mier y Campillo, by the Grace of God, and the Holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Almeria, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles III., Member of the Council, and Inquisitor General in the several kingdoms and Lordships of his Majesty.

" To all the inhabitants, of whatsoever condition; quality, order or dignity, they may be, we may hereby make known, that our most holy Father, Pious VII., animated by his ardent desire to preserve the purity of the faith, and the prosperity and peace of the christian republic, has addressed to our pious Sovearrested on suspicion of belonging to that fraternity. These measures only tended to render the

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reign, [Ferdinand VII., an edict in the Italian language, directed against freemasons: that his Majesty, uniting his religious intentions to those of the common father of all the faithful, has deigned to communicate this edict to us, in order that it may be published throughout the said kingdoms." Here follows the edict, after which his eminence the Inquisitor General proceeds:

"We know that many Spaniards, ceding to the yoke of our oppressors, and dragged into foreign countries, have had the weakness to attach themselves to societies which lead to sedition and independence, as well as to every other error and crime; we hope nevertheless, that these individuals restored to their country and freedom, will recollect they are Spaniards; and that following the example of their ancestors, they will submit with respect and docility to the voice of the supreme pastor, and of our legitimate Sovereign. By the advice of the members of the royal council and the holy Inquisition, we henceforth offer to receive with open arms, and all that tenderness which is suited to our ministry and character, those who within the space of fifteen days, from the date of this decree, shall spontaneously and voluntarily denounce themselves to us; but, if any person (which God forbid!) persists in following the road to perdition, we shall employ, to our great regret, rigour and severity, causing the pains and penalties of the civil and canonical laws to be inflicted on the offenders."

"We hereby ordain that the present edict be published in all the Metropolitan churches, cathedrals and colleges of the kingdom. And that it shall be affixed to the doors of the said churches, &c. Whence it shall not be taken without our permission, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of two hundred ducats.

(*Signed.*) "FRANCIS XAVIER, Inquisitor General."

patriots more cautious—the societies increased; and it should be said, to the honour of those engaged in them, there is no instance on record to prove, that any individual of the sect ever betrayed his associates; considering the various means of corruption and venality, resorted to by the ministers, a higher tribute to the national character could not possibly be paid, and none was ever more justy merited.

It is almost needless to say, that the secret societies had been formed on the sole principle of restoring liberty to Spain. The circumstances of there being a constitution already prepared, had a most salutary effect in creating confidence amongst the members, and giving unity to their views; so that their whole attention was exclusively devoted to the arrangement of military operations. Cadiz, which had been so long the seat of government, and always celebrated for the liberal spirit of its inhabitants, led the way in attempting to render the societies practically useful. When the mad project of sending reinforcements to Venezuela was conceived, and Morillo had collected ten thousand men for that purpose, at Pont St. Marigo in the Winter of 1814, immediately steps were taken for bringing the troops and their chief over to the patriot cause. With the former, nothing more was required than the consent of Morillo; and, he is said to have at one time, yielded to the solicitations of several rich capitalists, who generously offered the funds necessary for carrying the proposed plan into effect. Although this officer had greatly distinguished himself in the war, he neither possessed the generosity, or enthusiasm, so indispensible for a popular leader. A stranger to genuine patriotism, and only accustomed to those military exploits which are too apt to vitiate the best intentioned minds and give a wrong impulse to the brightest talents, Morillo hesitated between the imperishable glory of conferring liberty on his country, and the ignoble prospect of plunder, which awaited him in the new world; unable to resist the latter, he recanted, confessed, and having expiated his meditated crime of joining the patriots, by carrying a wax taper in a religious procession, the recreant general sailed for South America.

All hopes of immediate relief being removed by the departure of Morillo's expedition, the attention of the liberal party was turned towards Galicia, where the presence of Lacy, the hero of Catalonia, as Captain-general, previous to Ferdinand's return, had served to cherish the flame of freedom, and left impressions which became deeper from the subsequent persecutions experienced there. This province had been regarded as one of the principal links of the new confederacy; and from the eagerness of the Galicians to shake off the yoke, as well as the facility for resistance afforded by the mountainous nature of the country, it would have most probably risen, but for the abrupt removal of Lacy and the hopes held out at Cadiz.

I have also been informed that the disembarkation of Napoleon, prevented a simultaneous movement of the provinces from taking place. Soon after this memorable event, the Duke d'Angouleme was sent here to ensure the co-operation of Spain in the projected crusade against the French Emperor. The reception of his Royal Highness was such as might be anticipated where the ties of sympathy and relationship combined to render it flattering. The Duke is reported to have been highly delighted with all he saw here, and in speaking of the holy office, to have expressed some regret that the blessings of a similar institution were not extended beyond the Pyrenees.

In consequence of the royal visit, a corps was assembled on the frontiers, with a view of entering France, and securing the southern departments to the legitimate dynasty. The command being given to Count d'Abisbel, he had not been many days at his post, before the discontent of the officers and men, arising from want of pay and of clothing, manifested itself so openly that he was obliged to retrogade; to prevent more serious results, the regiments were immediately sent into different cantonments. Such were the auxiliaries furnished by the only branch of the Bourbons who would consent to take any part in the war of legitimacy.

JUAN DIEZ PORLIER, whose name will be remembered, whose fate must be deplored, as long as patriotism and public virtue shall find admirers, had been included in the proscriptions which commenced after the King's return, and condemned to four years imprisonment at the castle of San Anton, where he was conveyed on the 10th of Aug. 1814. Porlier had not been many months in his new abode, before all eyes were naturally directed to a man whose exploits and gallantry during the war, no less than his well known ardour in the cause of freedom, had made him a just object of admiration and hope with the army. Although there can be no doubt of his anxious desire to co-operate in any plan that was likely to restore liberty, or that he received frequent invitations from his friends at Corunna to come forward while shut up in San Anton, it is a matter of doubt how far his approbation of their plans extended, before he obtained permission from Ferdinand to visit a small watering place called Arteyo, within a few miles of Corunna, for the benefit of his health, which had suffered very much from his exertions in the field and subsequent confinement.

Having been removed towards the latter end of August, 1815, escorted by an officer and twelve

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* San Anton is within a few hundred yards of Corunna, and forms one of the principal defences to the entrance of the harbour. It has long been appropriated to the reception of State Prisoners.

men, Porlier was lodged in a farm house close to the sea, and had even commenced a course of medical regimen, when the most pressing entreaties came from the garrisons of Corunna and Ferral, that he should place himself at their head, as they could no longer bear up against the harshness of their treatment, left as they were without the means of existence, while their oppressors lived in luxury upon the very funds destined by government for their support. The unanimity which prevailed may be inferred from Castanera, the officer and escort serving as the medium of communication. Fully aware of the accumulated sufferings to which his former companions were exposed, it would have been extremely difficult for a patriot of much less sensibility than Porlier to resist such an appeal, and though labouring under the debilitating effects of a protracted indisposition, which would have fully justified his declining the proposed honour, he seems to have thought no consideration of personal inconvenience should be put in competition with the hope, however doubtful, of saving his country.

When every thing was ready for executing the plan agreed on, the General left his retreat, accompanied by Castanera and his escort as a guard of honour, and entered Corunna about midnight, on the 18th of September. The garrison did not exceed two thousand men. Porlier's chief dependence for striking the first blow, was on Colonel Cabrera, commanding the regiment of Lugo, eight hundred strong. Some of his friends having welcomed their leader at the town gate, they conducted him to the barracks, where the troops were in readiness, and all the officers assembled. The sword once drawn, Porlier entered into his task with the fearless zeal of a man who felt the justice of his cause, and important interests which depended on the issue. His first care, was to address the officers and soldiers separately: he began by declaring that no injury was intended towards the person of their sovereign; as to the motives which had induced him to come forward, they were too well known to require any explanation: when it was considered that the Royal orders, enjoining the authorities to distribute the means placed at their disposal, for supplying the army, were appropriated to other purposes, while his hearers continued in a state of the utmost wretchedness, he could not but applaud the spirit which prompted them to throw off their fetters, and that he was therefore prepared to lead wherever the interests of their common country required his services. The General next enjoined moderation and a regard to the strictest discipline: concluding his harangue, by informing them that the plan was not an isolated one, but embraced all the provinces; that the names of Ballasteros, Castanos, Lacy, and many others of equal rank were amongst the leaders, whose only object was to establish a political system more conducive to the interests of the nation. The spirit and energy with which this short address was delivered produced a talismanic effect on all present, and though interdicted from giving way to their feelings in *vivas*, nothing could exceed the eagerness shewn by each to follow their adopted chief; who, immediately issued orders for the regiment to be divided into small detachments, directing a few rounds of ball cartridges should be distributed amongst them.

While the officers were occupied in drawing up their respective parties, Porlier selected some of the most steady, to secure the person of the Captain-General, his Secretary, the members of the military commission, and a few others, known to be inimical to freedom.* This was effected without opposition, early on the morning of the 19th, while the prisoners were on their way to San Anton and Ferral; all those accused of political offences were set at liberty. After these preliminary measures were completed, a proclamation was read to the troops, and posted up in the town. It congratulated the soldiery upon having formed the heroic resolution of breaking chains, more galling than any which had been forged for centuries.

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* Porlier directed that the authorities should be treated with the utmost respect: and that every possible attention might be paid to their wants while in confinement. His solicitude on this point was frequently expressed in letters to the officer charged with their safe custody.

There was no necessity for telling them what had been the policy pursued since the restoration of Ferdinand VII. to a throne which had cost so many lives and such endless sacrifices.—What had been their recompense? Poverty, contempt and privations without number: to which might be added, a total disregard of the laws, persecution, imposts, forced loans, and feudal oppression.—Finally, the ruin of agriculture and annihilation of commerce! This concise and faithful exposition ended by stating, that the other provinces would not fail to follow the example of Galicia, where a supreme junta of government was to be formed until the meeting of Cortes, to which the nation looked for its regeneration.

The above address was succeeded by an elaborate manifesto, remarkable for its perspicuity and eloquence. In this paper, evidently drawn up by the hand of a master,* the proceedings of the servile faction, and general state of the nation, were detailed in language, at once pathetic and argumentative. The views of the patriots being set forth, a retrospect is taken of what the Cortes had done, and of the still greater improvements anticipated from the king's return. These are contrasted with the system of tyranny which succeeded, and the persons who surrounded Ferdinand described in their true colours. The acquiescence of the monarch is attributed to the habitual influence exercised over him from infancy. It was owing to his listening to the counsellors of former days that the Cortes were destroyed; hence the renewal of public abuses, persecution of the patriots, disorder of the finances, and consequent misery of the army. Hence too, the venality of government, as shewn in the sale of places, bribery and corruption of its members, also the degradation of Spain; which instead of being respected, was despised and contemned by all Europe. Yet, had these evils been produced by men, who but six years before deserted their master and betrayed their country! The arrest, trials and condemnation of the members of Cortes, are characterised as proofs of unexampled cruelty and injustice, a proper tribute is then paid to the purity of their intentions and irreproachable conduct as legislators. After alluding to the numerous benefits they had conferred on Spain, even during a period of war, an affecting contrast is drawn between the late and present state of the kingdom. Notwithstanding a year of peace, says this important document, our finances are more embarrassed than ever, and the public credit extinct; while the brave defenders of their country are left naked, barefooted and unpaid. As to the labourer, he is loaded with his former imposts; the artisan impeded by new obstacles, and commercial men paralysed. Our colonies more irritated than before, their deputies seized, and promises made to them broken. On one side prisons, and on the other vengeance. The manifesto closes with an appeal to the nations of Europe, whose governments had not only recognized the legitimacy of the Regency and Cortes during the war, but entered into solemn treaties with the former, and otherwise courted the alliance of Spain. England, Russia, Sweden and Prussia are more particularly mentioned. Alexander is called magnanimous, and England, rich and happy by its constitution, is represented as having witnessed with horror the destruction of the Cortes and violence used towards its members. Under different circumstances this appeal to the people of England would not have been made in vain: as it was, every generous mind glowed with sympathy, and prayers were offered up for the success of Porlier; and but for the iniquitous intrigues which impeded his progress so soon, the circulation of a paper like the foregoing, could not fail to have produced a powerful effect on the whole nation.

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* Porlier is said to have been assisted in preparing these spirited and well written documents, by an auditor of military account named Santario, a disciple of Jovellanos, who had been persecuted and thrown into prison at Corunna, after the return of Ferdinand.

After collecting all the troops in the principal square, and proclaiming the constitution of 1812, the whole, headed by the General, and preceded by bands of music, playing patriotic hymns, marched round Corunna, amidst cries of *Viva el Rey por la Constitucion!* and the liveliest demonstrations of joy on the part of the inhabitants, who fully participated in the feelings of the soldiery. The evening of the 19th closed with serenades, and a brilliant illumination.

While the garrison of Ferral, about fifteen hundred in number, were on their march towards Corunna, and another detachment had set out from Vigo to join the patriot standard, Porlier continued with unceasing activity to prepare for ulterior operations. Letters were addressed to the Municipality and religious communities, stating what had occurred, explaining the motives for his conduct, and inviting them to concur in his views for the good of their common country. The replies were such as might be expected from persons whose existence depended on the continuance of tyranny and oppression: they excused themselves on pleas which are never wanting to men, threatened with the loss of their pensions or places. But as the General knew the disposition of the parties, he felt the less disappointment at their refusal, nor did it affect him in the least: on the contrary, every additional impediment only served to increase the confidence of Porlier, who continued to display a presence of mind, knowledge and activity, fully equal to the arduous task he had undertaken.

The remainder of the General's arrangements for securing the constitutional system, by restoring the municipality and other authorities displaced in 1814, being completed, a detachment of eight hundred men were selected to march towards Santiago, where the troops only awaited the appearance of Porlier to declare themselves.* The command of this column was given to Colonel Arechabala, who set out from Corunna on the night of the 21st, with orders to halt at the small village of Carral, a distance of six leagues, and which he reached early on the following day. Porlier arrived soon after, and when the troops had been sufficiently refreshed, he led them on to Ordenes, another village within two leagues of Santiago, to which place an officer had been despatched with copies of the proclamation and manifesto, also a letter addressed to Ortega, colonel of the provincial grenadiers forming the garrison. No answer being received, it was decided that the column should sleep at Ordenes, and continue its march the next morning.

In order to account for the silence and inactivity of Ortega, it should be observed, that from the first moment of the rising, the monks and clergy at Santiago left neither prayers, entreaties nor bribery untried to dissuade the officers and men of the grenadier battalion from espousing the sacrilegious cause of the rebels. Where the threat of excommunication and an assurance of eternal torments in the world to come had not the desired effect, gold, a still more potent stimulus, was liberally applied; and funds which had been accumulated since the king's return, or only appropriated to the wants and luxuries of the priesthood, were now advanced for paying the troops; with so many weapons of intimidation and corruption, it cannot be matter of surprize that the patriotic intentions of the soldiery were turned aside. While Pesce, the governor, also an alien, was occupied in cutting ditches at the entrance of the city, and adopting other means of defence, consecrated emissaries were sent to tamper with the troops at Ordenes. In addition to the means so successfully employed at Santiago by these persons, they persuaded the non-commissioned officers and part of the men that Porlier really contemplated an attack on their fellow soldiers of the grenadier battalion. They could not have touched on a more vulnerable point; and there being no means of contradicting this absurd calumny, it spread with rapidity through the whole column, and thus led to their betraying the cause of freedom. The serjeants having assembled secretly about eight o'clock, one of them, named Chacon, expatiated on the enormity of drawing their swords against countrymen and friends; dwelling with particular emphasis on the horrors of civil war, and those other phantoms with which the priests had filled his imagination, he concluded by declaring that the only way to avoid the threatened dangers, was to arrest the officers, and give them up to justice. So well had their spiritual advisers prepared the minds of these infatuated men, to violate the oaths and protestations of fidelity made only three days before, that the proposal of Chacon, monstrous as it was, met with little opposition, and after some farther deliberation, he was from his seniority appointed to direct the meditated treason. A watch word being fixed on, it was decided that a cordon of sentinels should be placed round the village to prevent escape. Matters were thus arranged by half past ten, when the serjeants sallied forth headed by Chacon, and rushing into the inn where Porlier and his companions were still at table, called upon them to surrender in the King's name. As the cry of *Viva el Rey, y a las Armes!* was heard outside some moments before the traitors entered, it gave several of the officers time to seize their swords and put themselves in an attitude of defence; a violent struggle ensued, during which a few pistol shots were exchanged, when the general perceiving that none of the soldiers appeared, it occurred to him that they were not privy to the design, he therefore leaped from a window calling upon those around to follow; but sentries had also been planted close to the house, so that either to rally the men or escape became impossible. There being no alternative, the patriot chief and his companions yielded to their fate: most of the sergeants having formed a guard to watch the prisoners during the night, they were handcuffed and marched to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Santiago on the following day.

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* It was concerted that in the event of the troops at Santiago being sent against the patriotic column, they were to join the ranks of the latter, immediately on coming up with them.

The astonishment of Porlier and his officers at this inexplicable and untoward event, could only be exceeded by the joy it created amongst the priesthood of all classes, and colours, at Santiago,* where the first ebullitions of joy and self-congratulation were followed by a solemn thanksgiving, and chaunting *Te Deum* in full choir, after which ceremony a sermon was preached on the inevitable damnation attendant on rebellion!

News like the above was not long in reaching Corunna, and though it produced a very different sensation there, thousands having expressed the sorrow and shame caused by such an unexampled piece of treachery. The troops left to occupy the town were insufficient to make a stand, if ever so well disposed. Previous, however, to the authorities being reinstated, Don Antonio Peon, a Captain of Infantry, forming part of the detachment, determined not to expose himself unnecessarily to the consequences of an arrest, prevailed on a considerable number to join him, and seizing a standard, the whole party marched out of Corunna to the sound of drums, just as the Captain-general and other functionaries were liberated from San Anton.

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* Santiago is the Capital of Galicia, and has long been a grand focus of bigotry, superstition, and priestcraft. Besides the Inquisition and its train of attendants, there are not less than thirty convents here, though the population does not exceed twenty-five thousand souls. The tutelar saint, better known in England by the name of St. James of Compostela, has the reputation of gaining the battle of Clairgo, against the Moors, in the eighth century: he is also said to have occasionally appeared in the skies after his death, particularly whenever a victory was achieved over the Saracenic Invaders of Spain. Hence the popularity of his shrine, which has however greatly diminished of late years; but it is still one of the richest in the Peninsula; which sufficiently accounts for the immense number, of both sexes, who embrace the religious and monastic life at this place.

Such was the termination of an enterprise, to which its authors were driven by motives the most irresistible. It deserved a better fate; and if successful, would have saved years of anguish, slavery and suffering to a generous people. Had not Porlier partaken so much in the sanguine temperament of his countrymen, and confided less in the promises of support from persons surrounded by men bred in all the arts of hypocrisy and deception, he would not have advanced towards Santiago, but maintained his position at Corunna, thus affording sufficient time for the other provinces to rise, of which no doubt could be entertained had the patriots been assured of success in Galicia.

The failure of Porlier is not amongst the least instructive lessons to be gleaned from the history of the last six years; nor was it thrown away on Quiroga and his heroic companions. Taught wisdom by experience, they secured an impenetrable asylum in La Isla, and their glorious efforts were crowned with success.

Conducted to Corunna in chains under a strong escort on the 25th, and shut up in the common receptacle for malefactors, no time was lost in commencing the trial of the patriot officers. Although every rule of justice required that a special commission should be named on this occasion, the persons who had been employed for the prosecution of the liberales received orders from St. Mara to prepare the act of accusation. An order to the same effect reached Corunna two days after from the court. This directed that Porlier, and those of superior rank who had acted with him, should be tried, and their sentence put into execution within the time prescribed by martial law. As to the subalterns and others, their trial was also to proceed, but the sentences were not to be carried into effect, until the royal pleasure was known.

With the exception of his proclamation, manifesto, and some letters intended for various public bodies and individuals, upon whose co-operation he calculated, no documents of any importance were found amongst the papers of Porlier.*

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* Although so short a time at El Carral and Ordenes, a number of letters were despatched by the General from both the places in every direction, calling upon the authorities, in different Towns, to proclaim the constitution. Amongst the papers seized at Corunna, was found a note to his wife, dated at Ordenes just after his arrival, and of which the following is a translation.

Agreeable to the gothic mode of legal procedure in Spain, Hiremon, the Fiscal, prepared several interrogatories, which he read to the General in prison. The first of these, after recapitulating the treasonable acts of the prisoner, in raising the garrison of Corunna, and placing the authorities, under arrests, accused him of marching to Santiago at the head of an armed force, with intention to attack the troops stationed there. The conclusion of this interrogatory is no bad illustration of what an attorney-general of those days could say to prove his loyalty. It states, that, "if the culprit still retains a particle of gratitude for *the best of kings, Ferdinand* VII., he will instantly disclose his plans and name his accomplices, so as that the innocent nation may escape the perilous consequences arising from his silence!"

To the above, Porlier replied; that so far from having conspired against the King, every possible respect was shewn for his sacred person, not only

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"My dearest wife: you are I trust already at Corunna; nor ought you to be absent from it for an instant. I have got thus far, and shall to-morrow present myself before Santiago, where I hope something will be done; although there is not complete security, what I chiefly observe is the excellent disposition of the peasantry. I understand they are cutting ditches, and taking other steps to prevent our entrance into Santiago; we shall soon see the result of these matters. But do not be apprehensive of danger, as I shall run no risk without great probability of success. Adieu my beloved; write often, as I am most anxious to hear how you are." J.

in addressing the soldiery, and when referring to him in the proclamation, but by proclaiming his name throughout Corunna on the morning of the 19th. With respect to the conspiracy, he had taken no part in it, since an officer and guard were placed over him to watch his conduct. Entreated to assume the command, on reaching Corunna he found the garrison in a state of complete insurrection, so that all he did in such a crisis, was to prevent disorder and the effusion of blood; for which purpose, he cautioned the troops to maintain fidelity to the King, and observe the most exact discipline. As to the arrests, if not sanctioned by him, they would have been effected by the soldiers tumultuously. When arrested, the Fiscal was reminded of the respect shown to the authorities and humanity of their treatment. The assertion of his intention to attack the garrison at Santiago is positively denied; in proof of which, no order whatever to that effect had been given: on the contrary, every hostile appearance was avoided, even to there being no ammunition supplied. There was nothing, in fact, to induce a belief that such a measure ever entered his thoughts. With regard to those who were privy to, or concerned in, the rising, he expressed a hope that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint some person who could hear what he had to say on the subject generally. As the authorities by whom his trial was instituted were also in power when the events in question occurred, they could not interfere without a violation of justice: being no less responsible than himself, if not much more so, from their having had the management and command of the military. It would therefore be impossible for Government to obtain a thorough knowledge of the business, if his request was refused. Finally, it was incompatible with every rule of law, to be at once prosecutor, culprit, accuser, and judge.

In reply to a subsequent interrogation, the general read an article from the military ordinances, which bore particularly on his case; and expressly forbid a sentence being passed by those concerned in the charge advanced against any individual, and whose own conduct was thereby liable to be called in question.

Notwithstanding the formidable objections of Porlier, the Fiscal, who communicated them to the commission, was desired to proceed. Another of the prisoner's replies stated, that when invited by Castenera to accompany him to Corunna, all the officers of the Lugo regiment were assembled to receive him: on his appearance, they exclaimed with one voice, that such was the cruelty of their treatment and hardship of their condition, they found it impossible any longer to bear up against it, they had therefore resolved on executing the arrests, to which end, a general understanding had been established with the garrisons of Ferrol, Vigo and other places.

Don Jose Paredes having excused himself from becoming counsel for Porlier, on the plea of his being a member of the commission, his refusal was admitted on the 29th, when the objections of the prisoner were also formally set aside, and a resolution made to conclude the trial without farther delay. The general was, however, allowed to select another counsel, and the Fiscal was sent to notify the indulgence. Porlier took this opportunity of stating that he was degraded before any judgment had been pronounced, alleging that though labouring under such ill health and extreme debility, he had been thrown into a dungeon hitherto reserved for assassins, and highway robbers; that he had been stripped half naked* and loaded with above fifty pounds weight of irons, a proof the Fiscal and commission had overlooked the fact of his holding the rank of a general officer. Were it not for these illegal aggravations, Porlier would have chosen Miramon to defend him, but as it was, he begged to name an old friend, Colonel Miranda; and ended the conversation by expressing a hope that the commission would allow him the rights and privileges accorded by the ordinances. Notwithstanding this unanswerable appeal, all he could obtain, was a truckle bedstead and straw mattrass.

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* According to one of the innumerable barbarisms of the old Spanish law, those accused of treason, murder &c. are obliged to take of their clothing from the waist downwards.

There being no probability of granting the general's request relative to the appointment of a person from the court to hear what he wished to communicate, he added the following particulars to his previous declarations on the 29th. To afford a clearer idea of the insurrection and its real authors, and at the same time justify my own conduct, it should be recollected that all the troops received pay on the 19th, without any funds having been drawn from the royal treasury for that purpose: hence it must follow, that Don Andres Rojo,* the person who issued it, knew by whom this money was advanced; and as these funds were provided before my arrival at Corunna, the parties who supplied them were doubtless the original promoters of the rising.—It is also notorious, that for some time before this event, the officers of the garrison at Ferrol openly refused to perform the duty there, in consequence of which a trial had been instituted. This circumstance furnishes a strong presumptive proof that they had an interest and were even concerned in the general wish of restoring the constitution.

The last declaration of Porlier was made on the

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* Although there is no doubt but that a considerable part of the money thus provided, came from the patriotic fund collected amongst the members of the secret societies, Rojo's name deserves to be mentioned in the proud list of Spanish citizens who have sacrificed their all in support of liberty.

1st of October. Its chief object was to reiterate his former request, that some one in the confidence of his Majesty might be named to hear what he had to disclose for the general good of his country. But as the commission had not thought fit to consult the King, he was now prepared to impart his final wishes to Pesce, the governor of Santiago: this application being equally unsuccessful, a third was made with no better effect. The unwillingness manifested by the judges, at a time when such requests are scarcely ever denied, was attributed to a consciousness that Porlier had it fully in his power to compromise the principal authorities, if not themselves, as already intimated. One of the motives alleged by the officers and soldiers for throwing off the yoke, was the peculation and plunder of the funds destined by government for the support of the army. Those who knew the generous nature of Porlier could not suspect him of any disposition to injure even his enemies, and from some circumstances which transpired a few hours before his death, the communication he wanted to make only related to the perturbed state of the kingdom, extent of the association in favour of freedom, and consequent danger to the monarchy, if timely reform did not emanate from the proper source.

Although the sentence was drawn out on the night of the 30th, the commission did not assemble to examine the cause and hear the defence, before the 2nd of October. The latter was extremely concise and altogether inadequate to the importance of the cause, or means of the counsel, who probably felt the inutility of a more elaborate appeal in favour of one whose destiny seemed to have been previously sealed. No attempt was made to exculpate the prisoner. After admitting that the circumstance of Porlier's being seduced to commit the alleged crime did not evade the law, Miranda grounded his prayer for mercy on the distinguished services of his client during the late war, and solicited that the sentence might not be put into execution before the pleasure of his Majesty was known; above all he insisted on the necessity of allowing the general an opportunity of declaring those particulars which he considered as essential to the interests of the nation. The defence being concluded, it only remained to confirm and pronounce the judgment of the court. It was accordingly read, and merely stated that the charges of treason and rebellion having been fully proved, the prisoner was liable to the pains and penalties awarded in such cases; he was therefore sentenced to be publicly degraded, and suffer death by hanging.

There being no appeal from this sentence, it was carried into effect on the following day at half-past eleven o'clock. The last and only act of indulgence solicited by the unfortunate general, was a remission of that part of the judgment which related to his being degraded, so that the victim was suffered to ascend the scaffold in plain clothes.

The firmness and dignity shewn by Porlier, from the moment of his arrest to the hour of execution, cannot be too much admired, particularly when we reflect on the excessive fatigue and anxiety attendant on his exertions between the 18th and 22nd, not to mention the dissipated state of his health previous to the rising. His declarations were delivered with the utmost perspicuity and calmness. That his characteristic strength of mind did not fail him even to the last, is proved by a circumstance which took place the day before his execution. When the Fiscal came to that part of the sentence where the word traitor occurred, the countenance of Porlier became suddenly flushed, and darting a look of fire at Miramon, he exclaimed: "*Traidor! diga usted, el mas fiel servidor de la patria!*"*

Though the condemned hero had sufficient fortitude to spare his wife, and himself, the agonizing pangs of a final separation, he wrote to her frequently during the trial, and twice on the day before his execution. These letters were such as might be expected from one who felt much more regret on account of a woman, to whom he was tenderly attached, than for his own fate. He called upon her to recollect how often his life had been already exposed in the service of his country, and that it was now about to be sacrificed in the same cause. Alluding to the mode of his death, he observed, that, however terrific to a guilty mind, it was glorious to him, since he suffered for the sake of Spain! Conducted to the chapel in which it is customary for those condemned for death to pass the three days grace allowed, previous to their execution, at seven o'clock on the evening of the 2nd, Porlier dictated his will to a notary, who attended for this purpose, and gave dying injunctions with as much composure, as if they had related to the most ordinary concerns of life. Having bequeathed whatever he had to leave to his wife, Dona Josefa Queipo de Llano, daughter of the house of Toreno, and named several individuals to whom he was desirous of being affectionately remembered, he addressed the notary in the following words: "I also enjoin, that, when circumstances permit, my ashes may be removed from the spot they are laid when I am dead, to one more agreeable to my wife, and being deposited in a plain cenotaph, she will cause the following inscription to be engraved on it, together with my age and day of my death. "*Within are contained the remains of* J*UAN* D*IAZ* P*ORLIER*, *formerly a general in the armies of Spain. He was always successful in whatever he undertook against the ex-*

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* Traitor! rather say the most faithful servant of his country!

ternal enemies of his country, and died a victim to civil dissensions :—men alive to glory ! respect the ashes of an unfortunate patriot !" This act performed, he signed with an untrembling hand, and directed that the attested copy, and the key of the coffin containing his body, should be presented to his wife as soon after the fatal hour as her frame of mind would bear such an offering.

The remainder of the night was passed in meditation and prayer : alike a stranger to that bigotry and superstition, which has been at once the curse and scourge of Spain, the prayers of Porlier were those of a man who had conformed to the tenets of Christianity rather by acts of virtue and benevolence than exploded rites and idle ceremonies ; endowed with the most estimable qualities of the head and heart, this martyr to liberty could look back on his past life with complacency and towards the future with confidence. A friend of mine who resided at Corunna and saw the hero suffer, describes the day of his execution as one of general and heartfelt sorrow. There was something peculiarly affecting in the last scene of this mournful drama. Impatient to reach the place of execution, Porlier walked much quicker than is usual on such solemn occasions, and was observed to mount the scaffolding erected under the gallows with great alacrity ; when the final prayer ended, and just before the rope was affixed round his neck, he drew a white handkerchief from his breast, and holding it up to his face as if to absorb a last tear, he consigned it to the priest, with a request that it might be given to his widow!

A part of the troops whom he had but a few days before led under the banner of freedom, were condemned to attend the execution, and thus experienced the double mortification of witnessing the effects of their treason, and an end to all present hope of liberty or improvement.

All the former actions of Porlier's life corresponded exactly with the last days of his earthly career. Though descended from an ancient family, of which a branch had for a long period settled in the Canaries, he was born at Carthagena in South America, where his father held a high public situation. Brought up under the auspices of his uncle, Antonio Porlier, Marquis de Baxemar, and Minister of Justice under Charles IV., he served as a midshipman in the battle of Trafalgar. When, however, the cry of independence spread through the Peninsula in 1808, our hero was amongst the first to obey the call of his country; and having joined a regiment stationed at Valencia, his gallantry and enterprizing spirit were first displayed in the vicinity of that city: an affair in which he defeated a body of the enemy's troops, with a very inferior force, took many prisoners and led them in triumph to the Junta of Asturias, obtained for him the rank of Colonel. Soon after this event, he formed a Guerilla corps, of which he became the leader, and distinguished himself in a series of brilliant actions. It was during

Porlier's exploits in Asturias, that he acquired the title of *El Marquesito,* or little marquis, a sirname by which he continued to be known ever after. His retreat from Santender, closely pursued by a corps four times more numerous than his own, excited great admiration, and placed the military reputation of Porlier on a level with that of his most popular competitors. So highly were his merits and services appreciated by the Regency, that he was appointed Captain-general of Asturias, where he remained until the return of Ferdinand.

With respect to the alleged crime for which Porlier was cut off in the prime of life, if the motives that impelled him to obey the impulse of patriotism, and call of his suffering countrymen, are entitled to praise, the moderation with which he conducted the enterprise is no less worthy of applause. Notwithstanding those innumerable causes of irritation and revenge, which had been operating on the officers and soldiery ever since the return of Ferdinand, not a single excess was committed from the beginning of the insurrection till its termination, as truly stated in the general's declaration; the arrest of the authorities only had the effect of preserving them from those insults which their administration had been but too well calculated to excite. So anxious was Porlier that the part taken in the enterprize by his companions should be spontaneous, that in the course of the deliberations which preceded the defection at Ordenes, he plainly intimated that those who did not feel conscious they were acting rightly for the good of their country, had only to say so, and they should be at liberty to depart.

It is no trifling addition to the merits of this lamented chief, to say that history scarcely furnishes an instance of forbearance and moderation equal to that displayed throughout this insurrection. The effects of such conduct has been most salutary in all the subsequent efforts of the patriots, and it will not be lost on posterity.

Although low in stature, Porlier was extremely well made, had fine dark eyes and a most expressive countenance; he gave many proofs of great military talents, and his activity in the field was unequalled. He was remarkable for the vivacity of his manners, frankness* and generosity. With him, patriotism was not an empty sound or sterile profession; as a proof of which, nearly the whole of his limited fortune had been devoted to the relief of his persecuted and suffering countrymen, whether they languished in the prisons of Spain, or sought refuge abroad. One of the charges that led to his condemnation in 1814, was founded on the interception of a letter, in which he directed a merchant of Bilboa to supply the pecuniary wants of an exiled patriot who was expected there from France. But Porlier's liberality was not confined to Spaniards; it extended to the unfortunate of every country; and more than one Englishman was indebted to him for assistance in the hour of need. He was, in fact, warmly attached to us as a nation, so that the sympathy excited by his melancholy fate was doubly merited. At Corunna, the feelings of the English residents were still more unequivocally evinced, the whole number having put on deep mourning an hour after his execution.

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* Porlier is said to have, on some occasions, carried this rare virtue rather too far. The Marchioness de Matarosa, mother to his wife, a proud and haughty woman, who, like many of the Spanish aristocracy saw no merit when unconnected with title-deeds and nobility, was very anxious to know what were his pretensions to the honour of an alliance with her family. "Tell the Marchioness," said Porlier to the person employed to perform the office of negociating this important point, "that I wish to be informed whether her daughter is to be married to me or my parchments, if to the latter, they may both go to the deuce, for sooner I quit them the better."

I have, in a former letter, had occasion to mention that the Bishop of Orense made an eloquent appeal to Ferdinand in favour of Porlier's companions; however creditable this intercession may have been to the venerable prelate, it is supposed that the lenity shown towards the offenders arose much more from fear than humanity. Aided by the kindness of their English friends, several of the officers were enabled to embark for the United Kingdom. Where the conduct of others tends to make us so unpopular abroad, it is extremely gratifying to be able to bring forward instances of this kind, which serve, in no inconsiderable degree, to retrieve the national character, and keep it from sinking altogether in the eyes of the foreign nations.

The spirit of persecution which brought him to a scaffold, did not end with the hero's death. Excluded from the rites of christian sepulture, his body was buried in an obscure corner of the public cemetery.

The notary who drew up the will became an object of persecution, and after a process which continued six months, sentence passed against him, annulling the instrument, which was represented as subversive and contrary to the rights of the throne! In consideration, however, of the advanced age and character of the culprit, he was only admonished, on pain of incurring the utmost rigour of the laws, in case of a second offence.

Porlier was affectionately attached to his wife; she was not less so to the best of husbands. I will not attempt to describe the harrowed feelings of a young desolated woman, bereft of her natural protector, in the flower of life, while all the fervid sympathies of our nature are yet in full activity, and we still look forward with joy and hope to years of untasted felicity. As if, however, it was not enough to exercise every species of indignity towards her husband, the forlorn situation of Madame Porlier was greatly embittered by the cruel means adopted with regard to herself. After confiscating the whole of the general's property, she was placed in a convent at

Betanzos, and remained there in a state of indirect imprisonment till the re-establishment of freedom. Soon after this event Madame Porlier was invited to abandon the cloister, and reside at Corunna, where she continues to receive all those attentions, no less due to her misfortunes than the eminent services of her late husband.

The final bequests of Porlier were fulfilled towards the end of August. A cenotaph being prepared, all the authorities of Corunna, civil and military, repaired to the spot where his remains had been laid; disinterred and placed in their new receptacle, the gallant Espinosa, who has been so highly distinguished during the recent events in Galicia, pronounced an eloquent and energetic panegyric on the virtues and talents of the fallen hero: pointing him out as a fit model for those who preferred the liberty of their country to tyranny and oppression. From this the procession proceeded to the principal church, followed by the whole population; here the service closed with a requiem composed for the occasion, after which the cavalcade, preceded by the cenotaph, borne on a funeral car, was conducted in mournful triumph through all the streets in which the hero had proclaimed the constitution five years before. On reaching that part of the Campo Santo, on which a more conspicuous spot was chosen for depositing the urn, a second service and funeral oration was delivered by the officiating chaplain of the garrison, after which the ceremony ended.*

However gratifying this testimony to departed worth may have been to the friends and admirers of the patriot chief, who witnessed the scene and participated in the painful recollections and heartfelt sorrow it excited for his untimely fate, I am led to believe it was only a prelude to still higher honours, which the national congress intends to confer on those who, like the hero of Corunna, were sacrificed on the altar of their country's freedom. Yes! the statue of JUAN DIAZ PORLIER deserves a pre-eminent niche in the projected pantheon; nor can Spain too highly prize or dearly cherish the memory of a man, who, though branded with the epithet of traitor and rebel by her oppressors, yet knew how to brave an ignominious death with composure, rather than quietly live to see his fellow-citizens wear the chains of slavery.

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* That two names so dear to their countrymen should be still further perpetuated, the principal square and public walk of Corunna have been named after Porlier and Acevedo, whose fate bears a sad analogy to that of his heroic predecessor.

LETTER IX.

Alarm created at Court by Porlier's Insurrection.—Errors of the Patriots and Cause of their Failure; their Effects on the interest of Liberty.—Measures of Ferdinand and his Ministers.—Exile of Ballesteros and El Empecinado.—Motives for dismissing Escoiquiz, de Castro and their Friends.—Treatment of British Residents.—Disposition of the Garrisons of Cadiz and Oviedo.—Abisbal's Order of the Day.—Projected rising in Granada, detected by the Bishop and Priesthood: its Authors punished.—Attempt of Richart; his Trial and Execution.—Project of Don Luis Lacy, denounced when on the point of being carried into effect: Attempt of the General and his Friends to escape.—General Milano and others succeed; Lacy is taken; he is tried and condemned at Barcelona: conveyed to Majorca and shot.—Biographical Sketch of the Patriot Chief, and Honours paid to his Memory.

Madrid, September, 1820.

The consternation of Ferdinand and his ministers, on hearing of the events at Corunna, and its neighbourhood, was such as might well be expected on the part of men who felt that their own cruelty and oppression had alone caused the revolt; while, however, the serviles of every class were trembling with guilty fear, lest the hour of retribution had really arrived, a far different sensation was created in other places, especially at Cadiz, Barcelona, Valencia and Zaragoza, where every heart beat high with hopes of speedy emancipation; meetings were even held, to concert means for obeying the call of Porlier, and had the banner of freedom only waved a few days longer in Galicia, his heroic example would have been followed throughout the Peninsula.

From the facts already adduced, relative to the sufferings of the people and persecution of the patriots, I need scarcely add, that both were most anxious to throw off the yoke; but, on the present occasion, as in former instances, there was, unhappily, a want of that understanding, not only with regard to their means, but as to the precise period of rising, which would have afforded the best chance of success, by rendering the movement simultaneous at different points. This capital error, common to the friends of liberty in all ages and countries, has been peculiarly fatal to Spain. Another impressive lesson was also taught by the failure of Porlier; it furnished an additional proof, that isolated attempts in favour of freedom generally tend to strengthen the hands of despotism. No sooner, in fact, had the panic passed away, than the reign of terror, suspended for a short interval when the first messenger arrived here, was renewed with more violence than ever, as if Ferdinand and his advisers were ashamed of being detected in governing with justice and moderation! It has been truly observed, in alluding to the insurrection, that had not the King been totally inaccessible to the dictates of reason, and his ministers the most incorrigible of mankind, they must have profited by such a warning. Instead of retracting their steps or changing the existing system, one of the first measures resorted to, after the patriot general's execution, was the dismissal of the celebrated Ballesteros, a Minister of War, and his exile to the Alhambra of Granada. El Empecinado, though living in the greatest retirement since his abrupt departure from this, a year before, was also sent to the castle of Monzon in Arragon. These acts of severity were also followed up by others, inflicted on all those who happened to excite the suspicion of the court, or had been previously marked out for punishment. As to the disgrace of Ostolaza, De Castro, Escoiquiz, and their immediate dependents, it evidently arose rather from a desire to get rid of them, than any disapprobation of their conduct while in power, since those who succeeded them were no less hateful to the nation; the truth is, a plausible pretext had been wanted to make these persons feel, in their turn, the almost certain effects of serving the cause of tyranny, and, in conformity to the well known maxim of legitimacy, the subject-many were flattered with a change of rulers, which, in reality, rendered their condition worse, by making oppression somewhat more tolerable.

Besides the rigorous treatment of those suspected of being favourable to the design of Porlier, the generous proceedings of our countrymen resident at Corunna exposed them to the payment of a forced loan, levied in consequence of their aiding the escape of Porlier's followers. Lest these precautions, suggested no less by pusilanimity than revenge, should be insufficient to awe the people, fresh instructions, addressed to the Captains-General and military commissions, enjoined still greater severity and vigilance in pursuing the secret societies.

The feeling of indignation excited by the fate of Porlier was so strong, that the garrisons of Cadiz and Oviedo manifested a determination to avenge his death, and they would have most probably realized the threat, were it not that the same machinations which frustrated the hopes of the patriots at Corunna operated with equal effect in other places. Abisbal, who commanded at Cadiz, issued a pompous order of the day, in which he reminded the soldiers of their allegiance, eulogized Ferdinand, and ended by menacing those who transgressed the Ordinances, with all the rigours of the law.

The failure in Galicia was no where more deeply regretted than at Granada; here, the patriots took immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster; a new insurrection was organized upon principles which were much more likely to insure a prosperous issue. Count Montijo,* the Captain-general, to whose zeal and patriotism the secret associations were chiefly due, directed the intended rising, which was to take place on a fixed day and hour, in all the garrisons of the Peninsula. This plan, from which the most auspicious consequences were anticipated, was nearly matured, when the never-failing enemies of freedom, headed by the Archbishop, discovered the whole scheme, and denounced its authors to government. An extensive seizure of papers, and numerous arrests followed this new triumph of the clergy: additional measures of coercion were adopted with regard to secret societies, and the aid of the holy office being required, the Grand Inquisitor readily acquiesced in the wishes of the Court, so that this dreadful tribunal henceforth became, exclusively, an engine of political persecution.

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* The efforts of Count Montijo in organizing the secret soiceties, and propagating the above plan, sufficiently atone for the mistaken views entertained by him on the King's return. Although he was then amongst the number of those who, in appearance at least, warmly espoused the interests of the faction, his subsequent conduct requires that a veil should be drawn over opinions, which according to some, were assumed for the purpose of getting into power, and be thus placed in a situation to promote the cause of freedom.

While such strenuous efforts were making to keep down the spirit of revolt in the provinces, a conspiracy of less magnitude than that of Corunna, but which might have led to important results, was detected under the very eyes of the Court. Its leader, Don Vicente Richart, a lawyer and literary character, who had served in a Guerilla corps, succeeded in collecting several individuals and was making proselytes amongst the soldiery. Besides many persons of inferior note, the names of two general officers, O'Donoju* and Renovalles, appear to have been connected with the plot, of which the precise object was not clearly ascertained; some saying that it had the assassination of Ferdinand in view; while others, particularly Richart himself, maintained that he merely intended to watch a favourable opportunity, when the King left the palace to surround his carriage, and prevail on him to restore the constitution. Funds to an inconsiderable amount had been furnished, and some progress made towards carrying the design into effect, when one of the party, supposed to have been bribed by the ministers, betrayed his companions on condition of being pardoned. The talents and resolution displayed by Richart before the judges only served to aggravate his alleged crime. Indifferent to the fate which awaited him, the chief care of the accused was to make his example act as a stimulus to others. Richart defended his conduct on the broad principle of public utility, which, according to his arguments, rendered it a sacred duty on the part of all those forming the social body, to aid in rescuing their fellow men from slavery; and, as the system of tyranny, established after Ferdinand's return, had become intolerable, he considered himself bound by every tie, moral and religious, to assist in effecting the regeneration of Spain. The necessity of performing this duty was the more deeply impressed on his mind, since he felt assured that it might be accomplished without having recourse to any greater act of violence that the one proposed. The prisoner alluded to his past services, his patriotic publications and private life, to prove that neither motives of interest nor ambition had influenced his determination: when led to the scaffold, the demeanour of Richart was such as became a votary of freedom; firm and resigned, he died bravely, and instead of indulging in the voice of complaint, his last words are said to have been a fervent ejaculation for the deliverance of his country. Though it is not very probable that the contemporaries of Richart will decide how far the infliction of death is justified in cases wherein the sufferers are driven to rebellion by the excesses of government, the time must come, when this important question will be argued more dispassionately than it can amidst the jarring interests and despotic doctrines which now prevail; but, even in the present day, it is difficult to withhold our sympathy and applause from those, who, like the subject of these cursory remarks, seem to consider life itself a worthless gift, when put in competition with public liberty. Only one of the conspirators suffered with their leader, the rest, about twelve in number, were sentenced to fine, exile and imprisonment.

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* There is little doubt but that both O'Donoju and Renovalles were remotely concerned in Richart's affair; but the proofs of their participation were too vague to admit of a sentence against either. The former from having great interest at court, suffered no ill effects from the charge. As to Renovalles, after several fruitless attempts to promote a rising in favour of the constitution, he escaped to London, where his services were offered to the Venezuelan Government.

Had it not been for that fatality which seemed to attend every new attempt of the patriots to regain their freedom, it would be impossible to name one amongst them, who, from his talents or popularity, had a better chance of success, than Don Luis Lacy. This celebrated chief, to whose gallantry and military skill Catalonia was indebted for its liberation from the French army in 1812, had excited the jealousy of the servile faction on Ferdinand's return, and was even doomed to a species of exile* in the very province which had witnessed his most brilliant triumphs. Having, in the spring of 1817, visited Caldetes, a village on the sea coast near Barcelona, for the purpose of drinking its mineral waters, Lacy there met some old friends and kindred minds, with whom it was natural to deplore the wretched fate of their common country, and not less so to confer on those means by which its liberties might be restored.

Although the result of former efforts in favour of freedom were sufficient to deter ordinary men from exposing themselves to the fate of Porlier and Richart, it seemed only to stimulate the patriots of Spain. In the present case, a number of circumstances concurred to render it probable that a well-combined plan would be attended with success. Lacy had long been regarded as one of the best officers in the Peninsula; he had won the affections of the army, and was, above all, the staunch and enlightened advocate of liberty. General Milans, Lacy's companion during several campaigns, together with his brother Don Rafael, a retired colonel of cavalry, were amongst the friends he found at Caldetes: both these meritorious characters placed themselves at his entire disposal; while Don Jose Quer, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Tarragona regiment, stationed at Arens del Mar, a small seaport in the vicinity, undertook to ensure the co-operation of that corps. Though the continued enormities of government were such as to justify a belief on the part of Lacy and his coadjutors, that even a partial movement would be followed by the whole army, it was not until he had communicated with the different garrisons, and received positive assurances of support from all those in Catalonia, that he consented once more to raise the standard of independence. Matters being thus arranged, the 5th of April was named for carrying the project into execution; considering the state of public opinion, and the abilities of those engaged in the enterprise, sanguine hopes were indulged that fortune would be more propitious than heretofore: these hopes, however, were cruelly disappointed; for when on the point of being realized, two Subalterns, named Appentel and Nandin, formed the design of betraying the patriots: this act was rendered the more atrocious, from the traitors having been indebted to the bounty and protection of Lacy, while Captain-general; a fact which alone had induced Quer to employ them as his chief agents in gaining over the regiment. When informed of the meditated rising, the first step of Lassala, the colonel, was to hasten to the officers' quarters, and ask them whether they were prepared to shed their blood in defence of the King? On being answered in the affirmative, the battalion was immediately assembled on the Parade, where; the servile chief contrived by flattery and promises to dissuade the men from following two companies, which had already marched under Quer and his friend, Don Antonio Oliver, to join the leaders at Caldetes. As it was too late to bring these back, the utmost Lassala could do, was to despatch emissaries after them to induce their return by the assurance of a liberal reward, and such other offers as were most likely to detach them from Lacy. The remainder of the corps was then conducted to an adjacent height, there to await events, and be removed from the probable consequences of having their loyalty shaken by the inhabitants, who appeared extremely anxious to second the views of Lacy and his friends.

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* Whenever the political opinion of any officer did not accord with those of the court, or his popularity prevented an open persecution, it was usual for the Minister at War to assign a fortress for his residence, and here he remained under the inspection of the governor, until the suspicions which led to his exile were removed. Lacy was ordered to Catalonia, on his removal from the Captain-Generalship of Galicia, and continued to reside there with little intermission, till the period of his visit to Caldetes.

On reaching Caldetes, the two companies were warmly greeted, and after a short harangue from the General, who received them in full uniform, the whole party repaired to the country house of Don Rafael Milans, close to the village, where they remained in a state of great perplexity till day-light, when they were joined by some officers from Barcelona and Mataro, who fully confirmed their fears that the plan had been discovered. There being no time to lose, they held a consultation, in which it was determined not to relinquish the enterprize while a single soldier remained: as the men seemed disposed to act, it was decided that they should proceed towards Mataro, and if not seconded by the garrisons or peasantry on their march, they could at least gain the frontiers and pass into France.

Creditable as the above resolution was to the patriots, the commencement was too disheartening to afford any hopes of success: they had accordingly been only a few hours on the road, before the agents employed by Lassala prevailed on the soldiers suddenly to turn round, and take the direction of Arens del Mar, leaving Lacy and his companions to their fate. It was in vain that Milans and the other officers expostulated with them on this unexpected defection; their fears had been so worked upon by Cuero, the principal emissary, that neither entreaties nor remonstrances had any effect: it therefore only remained for the leaders to provide for their own safety in the best manner they could.

A general had been sent in the meantime from Barcelona by Castaños, to co-operate with Lassala in quelling the insurrection, although the former is said to have given secret directions, that no obstacle should be opposed to the escape of Lacy; this did not prevent measures from being taken to arrest both the patriot general and his followers.

Various parties were detached in pursuit of the fugitives, who proceeded by different roads; some directing their steps towards the French frontier, while others endeavoured to reach the coast. Quer and Oliver owed their escape to the forbearance of an officer named Cabrera, who, in the true spirit of patriotism and humanity, kept aloof till assured of their safety; when he entered the house in which they had slept the preceding night, and seizing their swords and uniforms, sent these to Lassala as proofs of his vigilance. The latter having gone in person to secure Milans, could find, only his wife and daughter, who were despatched under an escort, as hostages to Barcelona, while the General himself, accompanied by two infant sons, whom he was determined not to leave behind, after a series of adventures, which would form no bad episode to a romance or melo-drama, reached the small fishing town of Badalona and embarked for Gibraltar, whence he sailed to Buenos Ayres, there to serve the cause of South-American independence, until happier circumstances should enable him to re-visit his native country.*

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* Although Milans was thus unable to share the glory of personally aiding the heroes of San Fernando, he had the consolation of being eminently useful to the cause of freedom in the New World, and was received with acclamation on his return to Barcelona, a few weeks ago, when the event was celebrated by rejoicings and addresses of congratulation from the municipality

A much severer fate attended Lacy, and those who had to share his fortunes. In consequence of an order issued by the governor of Mataro, calling upon the peasantry on pain of death to assist in the pursuit, the fugitives were forced to take refuge in a farm-house, whose proprietor was base enough to betray them soon after their departure for the frontiers. Intimidated by the above peremptory mandate, and strictly enjoined to obey it by their spiritual advisers, who had, as usual, made common cause with the servile leaders, a large party came up with Lacy and his friends, and threatened to fire on them if they did not surrender. On hearing this unexpected summons from those who had been till then regarded as friends, the general came forward, and with great calmness replied, that he was ready to do so, but would not deliver his sword, or be taken alive except by a military officer. The dignified manner in which Lacy expressed himself, had such an effect on the infatuated peasants that many of them instantly retired; a few, however, calculating on the reward which had been offered for his apprehension, persisted in their demand and a violent altercation ensued: this was proceeding to extremities, when an officer and file of soldiers appeared, and put an

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and other public bodies. To increase the joy of this excellent officer, he found Madame Milans and her children only waiting his arrival to complete their own happiness.

end to the dispute; on Lacy's presenting his sword, the former refused to accept it, observing in a respectful tone, "the weapon cannot be in better hands, General; your Excellency must therefore excuse me from taking it." Having at length surmounted his scruples, the prisoner was conducted to Blanes, and thence escorted to the Citadel of Barcelona.

Tried by the commission for the persecution of the patriots, the General was condemned in the same illegal way as Porlier, and might have been executed with as little ceremony, were it not for his popularity, and consequently a fear, lest the garrison would have interfered to prevent the execution of the sentence. Of all those acts which have rendered the reign of terror memorable, the subterfuge adopted for the purpose of sacrificing Lacy is that the most worthy of execration. It was while one universal cry for mercy ascended the throne of Ferdinand, in behalf of this unfortunate chief, that the ministers ordered him to be conveyed to Majorca, under pretence of commuting his sentence into imprisonment. Reaching that island on the 30th June, he was shut up in the castle of Bellver, and had been only four days in confinement, before Algarre, the Judge-advocate, who officiated at his trial, presented himself to the unsuspecting victim, read his sentence; and notified that it would be carried into execution at five o'clock on the following morning! It was no wonder if this abrupt announcement of his last hour, when he might perhaps be indulging the fond hope of once more embracing his wife and child, or that he might yet live to see Spain free, occasioned a severe shock: the hero, however, is said to have speedily recovered from the first impulse of horror, so natural at such a moment, and tranquilly observed, "I was not prepared to hear this sentence, but since it must be so, I will be ready." Thus betrayed, and condemned to suffer at a distance from his relatives and friends, the death of Lacy was embittered a thousand-fold; yet do all the details which have transpired relative to this sad event, concur in proving that it exhibited a rare example of unaffected courage and manly fortitude.

The few hours of preparation afforded to Lacy were occupied in drawing out a will in favour of his wife, and giving directions relative to the education of their only child, who was recommended to the protection of that country which his parent had so faithfully served. A slave to his professional duties, and incessantly called upon to make pecuniary sacrifices in support of freedom, the General had scarcely any property to bequeath.

Prompted by more zeal than prudence, the friends of Lacy have recently taken great pains to prove that he died a staunch votary to the catholic faith, conforming to all its ceremonies. A number of depositions, describing those circumstances which took place just before his death, have been circulated, to confirm these unimportant assertions. It would, perhaps, be more flattering to his memory, had the original reports remained uncontradicted. Like Porlier, the hero of Catalonia also attached more importance to the practice of virtue than to the forms of religious worship, so that when surrounded by the band of priests that usually flock to the aid of the condemned, in Spain, as well to discover their secrets as to prepare them for Paradise, Lacy is said to have betrayed some doubts as to their means of consoling his wounded spirit, smarting as it was under the impressions created by the conduct of his persecutors. Minutely versed in the history of his country, the general could not forget that nearly all its misfortunes had originated in superstition or fanaticism; and when he recollected that those who now came to preach peace and good will belonged to a class which had invariably opposed the progress of liberty, how could the dying hero possibly reconcile the mild and amiable doctrines of Christ with that misplaced devotion, which could as readily denounce a patriot to power as it offered absolution to the most degraded criminal? There is in fact every reason to believe that, although Lacy was incapable of giving offence to his spiritual guides, who were doubtless honorable exceptions to the mass, by an open expression of his sentiments, he, at least convinced them, that his hopes in futurity were derived from a much more exalted source than the elevated cross and consecrated wafer. In other respects, few could have less need of external consolation than one whose whole life had been marked by a scrupulous regard for the obligations of morality and virtue; while his magnanimity and personal bravery in an hundred combats, bore testimony to the indifference with which he could meet the final hour.

The only advantage enjoyed by the Catalonian chief over his illustrious rival in the lists of fame, was that of being shot, instead of suffering the more ignoble fate of Porlier. Here is good ground for inferring that his enemies thought even this indulgence a great favour; though it is clearly proved they dreaded the consequence of a public execution. Conducted to a ditch of the castle, at five in the morning, accompanied by a priest, and a file of soldiers destined to terminate his existence, the death of Lacy presents more the character of a midnight murder than a judicial decree carried into effect for the purpose of a salutary example, the object of all punishments under a government of law and justice.

The biography of Lacy is more varied than that of his heroic predecessor, while it possesses somewhat stronger claims to the sympathy of Englishmen. Descended from Heldebert de Lacy, who accompanied William I. to our shores, and was created Count of Lincoln after the conquest, the branch from which the hero of Catalonia sprang, passed over to Ireland in the reign of Henry II. and continued there as Counts of

Ulster above two centuries: stripped of their fortune by the rapacity of succeeding Viceroys, and ultimately persecuted for their religious opinions, four brothers, of whom Lacy's father was one, sought refuge from persecution and political disabilities in Spain about the middle of the last century: like most of the Irish outcasts, they were received with open arms here. Patrick de Lacy, had obtained a commission in the regiment of Ultonia, exclusively destined for the reception of his countrymen, and died at the camp before Gibraltar, in 1780, leaving a widow and two children, one of whom died while yet an infant. Luis the eldest, who was born in 1775, entered the army at the early age of fourteen, and served with distinction during the fruitless contest between this country and the French Republic in 1795: promoted to the rank of captain not long after, he proceeded to the Canaries, where he soon became an object of jealousy, owing to the freedom of his opinions, relative to the system pursued by the Prince of Peace. Placed on a scanty half-pay, unwilling to witness abuses which he had no means of correcting, and animated with an ardent thirst to acquire knowledge, Lacy left Cadiz in 1802, travelled to Barcelona on foot, passed some days in the society of his old companions, who happened to be quartered there, and having procured testimonials of character from the colonel, prosecuted his way almost pennyless through France to Bologne, where Napoleon was organizing the army of England. Having tendered his services, Lacy was first accepted as a private in a regiment of infantry; he soon attracted the notice of his Colonel, who advanced him to the rank of serjeant: when, however, his story came to the ears of the emperor, he was immediately presented with a captain's commission in the Irish brigade, then forming at Morlaix, under the auspices of Arthur O'Connor.

It was during his stay in Brittany, that Lacy married Mademoiselle de Guermeur of Quimper, (his surviving widow,) who accompanied her husband to the Netherlands, when the brigade formed part of the force sent to repell our ill-fated and worse combined expedition to Walcheren. This amiable woman is now at Madrid, and occupied in superintending the education of her child, in 1813, who bids fair to emulate the virtues of his lamented father.

Appointed to command the regiment in 1808, Lacy soon after received orders to join the army in Spain, under Murat, and was here on the fatal 2nd of May; but perceiving the tendency of public opinion in favour of independence, our hero did not for a moment hesitate between the duties of patriotism and those of personal gratitude.

Proceeding with all possible dispatch to Seville, where the authorities had already began to organize a national force, Lacy's first appointment was that of captain in the regiment forming part of Cuesta's division. This was a preliminary step to his being named commandant of the Ledesma Battalion, which he had himself created. During the disastrous campaigns of 1809 and the following year, Lacy was destined to see all the fruits of that patriotic feeling, which had impelled the people of Spain to take up arms, lost by the weakness or incapacity of the generals who had been selected with so little discrimination to lead the respective corps. Transferred to the regiment of Burgos, he was particularly distinguished at the battles of Aranjuez, Ocana and Almonacid: Lacy also gave extraordinary proofs of his military talents on the plains of La Mancha, and in defending the passes of the Sierra Morena.

Called to assist in the defence of Cadiz, Lacy headed all the sorties so successfully made from the lines of La Isla, in 1811, and took a most active part in the battle of Chiclana. Having by his gallantry and superior skill attracted general attention and esteem, he was at length appointed to the chief command in Catalonia, for which he sailed in June of the above year, and soon after landed near Tarragona, the first object of his solicitude; for he had not only the mortification to find that strong hold in the hands of the enemy, but the army completely dispersed, and the whole province in a state of the utmost confusion.

Lacy's re-organization of the Catalonian army, amidst difficulties of every kind, in the face of a powerful enemy; his successful incursions into the French territory, where he had levied contributions and procured supplies, when none could be had at home, will bear an advantageous comparison with the most celebrated exploits of the revolutionary war: when it is added, that during the time he remained in Catalonia, not more than a year and eight months, Lacy was victorious in seventy-six actions, and sustained only one reverse, that of Altafulla, fought without his consent, some notion may be formed of his claims to the title of an able general.

On the military arrangements of 1812 taking place he was sent to command the army of reserve in Galicia, and shortly after named captain-general of the province: in which situation he remained, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, until the return of Ferdinand, when, like all those who had contributed to the glory of their country, he was also deprived of his well earned honours. Having retired to Catalonia, Lacy took up his abode in the small town of Vinaroz; here he remained to witness the degradation of Spain, and the accumulated sufferings of his fellow soldiers, until 1816, when he was appointed second in command to Castanos; but prevented by ill-health from doing his duty. It would be an injustice to the patriotism and public spirit of this distinguished character, to suppose he had not contemplated the necessity of making some effort in favour of freedom long before his visit to Caldetes. The anxiety of Lacy to co-operate in any measure that presented a chance of removing such innumerable evils as those brought on by the servile faction, was well known for some time previous to the project conceived in 1817: it is therefore only to be regretted that, when such a man formed the resolution of drawing the sword he did not receive greater support; for with the enterprizing spirit of Lacy, his popularity and great talents, it has never been doubted that, if properly seconded by the garrison of Barcelona, the triumph of liberty would have been consummated.

I cannot conclude this account of Lacy's catastrophe without adverting to the conduct of Castanos: as already observed, this officer is said to have done all he could to prevent the hero's arrest in the first instance, and that he joined his supplications for mercy to those of others who addressed the throne. Upon the whole, public opinion is by no means favourable to the captain-general. Those whom I have consulted on this delicate question, are unanimous in agreeing, that as the professed personal friend of Lacy, and more than any other general of the Peninsula enabled to estimate the immense services he had rendered during the war, Castanos ought to have saved his life, however great the sacrifice might have been to his own personal interests. If he had, his name would have lived in the grateful remembrance of posterity, those from whom his authority was derived would be spared the perpetration of a horrible crime, and Spain the loss of her bravest patriot.

The inhabitants of Barcelona have lately vied with those of Corunna in doing justice to the remains of their departed chief; conveyed there in June, they were honoured with a triumphant funeral, at which the whole population, garrison and public bodies, united in paying a last tribute to his virtues and heroism. Like the ashes of Porlier, those of Lacy have also been deposited in an urn, and inscribed with an appropriate epitaph; it now forms one of the most conspicuous monuments in the Campo Santo of that beautiful city.

Although the regular course of my narrative has been interrupted by the foregoing details, in which I have endeavoured to gratify any curiosity you might feel with regard to the object of them, I trust it is unnecessary to apologize for the digression. It has hitherto been the practice to raise splendid mausoleums, and blazon forth the most minute actions of men, whose whole lives have presented little more than a series of aggressions against the liberties and happiness of mankind; it would surely be the height of injustice to omit those qualities which serve to exalt human nature while they impel the wise and good to labour in a cause too often espoused from the sordid motives of selfishness and personal ambition.

LETTER X.

Project of Reinforcing Morillo.—Failure of San Carlos in Procuring Transports in England.—A Squadron is Purchased from Russia.—Tatischeff and Ugarte.—Scheme Interrupted by the Cruelties of Elio at Valencia.—Policy of Ferdinand and his Ministers.—Renewal of the Expeditionary Plan.—Appointment of O'Donnell to the Chief Command.—Some Account of this General.—His Conduct in 1814.—Reconciliation with Lacy, and Promises of Support.—His Project for re-establishing the Constitution.—Proposition of the Patriots Rejected.—Dissimulation of the Count and his friend Sarsfield.—Arrest and Imprisonment of the Colonels on the plain of Palmar.—Reflections Suggested by the Proceedings of Abisbal.

Madrid, October, 1820.

Neither the daily encreasing embarrassments of the court, assailed by conspiracies at home and the voice of public opinion abroad, nor its poverty and total loss of credit, were sufficient to deter those who surrounded Ferdinand from persevering in the preposterous design of reinforcing Morillo; at a time too, when every hope of success had vanished in Venezuela and New Granada, owing to the victories of Bolivar and his generals. The mere fact of wishing to regain colonies, to which they had no means of conveying the troops necessary for their conquest, proves to what ridiculous extremes the follies of these men were carried; while it serves more than volumes to illustrate the prevailing system of government. San Carlos, the Ambassador in London, having failed in his efforts to procure vessels from the British ship-owners, who, very properly adhered to the independents, recourse was had to the Russian Envoy, Tatischeff, whose amazing influence here has been noticed in a former letter. As this was derived from his blind deference to the insane projects and criminal views of those in power, he lent a willing ear to the present application: unmindful of the deep disgrace which must necessarily attach to his master, for thus openly favouring a new crusade against freedom, the idea of adding a trifling sum to the imperial treasury, and gratifying the avarice of his creature, Ugarte,* who was charged with preparing the expedition, seems to have absorbed every other consideration, and a squadron was provided, on terms highly advantageous to Russia.

It was while forced loans, exorbitant taxation, new imposts on foreign commerce, and such other measures as corruption could devise, were carrying on for the above unhallowed purpose, that the oppressive conduct of Elio at Valencia occasioned some interruption to the scheme, by obliging the officers of the garrison there to form a plan, which, in removing the tyrant, should afford another chance of relief to the friends of liberty. Destined like the rest to be foiled, at the moment of execution, Elio gladly seized the opportunity of completing what he had commenced in 1814: after putting the gallant leader, Colonel Vidal, and several of his companions to an ignominious death, their bodies were exposed on a gibbet, as objects of terror to the peaceful inhabitants. Not satiated with the blood of so many victims, more than two hundred individuals of both sexes were arrested and thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition by order of this modern Attila, who is further described as having personally assisted in applying the tortures of the holy office to numbers, with a view of discovering the accomplices of Vidal, and spreading dismay amongst the patriots generally.

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* There cannot be a greater satire on the servile government than the advancement of Ugarte from the humble office of a street porter, to be the head of the Camarilla, and confidential adviser of Ferdinand. It is not amongst the least of those curses which attend legitimacy, that fools and villains often succeed in obtaining its protection, when the wise and virtuous are treated with scorn or neglect.

The disposition of Ferdinand and his advisers, while the horrors of Valencia were perpetrating, may be readily inferred, from their allowing the author of them quietly to retain his command. Acting throughout the terrific drama as judge and executioner, neither age, sex, nor condition escaped the sanguinary minister of vengeance, whose order of the day, issued previous to sacrificing the patriots, deserves to be recorded as a specimen of legitimate rule in the nineteenth century, and to furnish another proof of what the people of Spain were doomed to suffer under its agents.*

When the cruelties of Elio had somewhat subsided, giving place to that deceitful calm which usually results from violence, Ugarte hastened to renew the expeditionary scheme, still more favored than before by the continued reverses of Morillo and turbulent temper of the army, which rendered it necessary to accelerate the preparations, since many of the disaffected regiments would thus be removed from the possibility of giving future uneasiness. As the ships purchased from Russia were already on their way to Cadiz, the period of embarkation was fixed for the autumn of 1819.

Most of the troops intended for the New World had been collecting for some time in Andalusia, and the temporary command given to Abisbal, a name so intimately connected with the history of the last six years, and more especially those events which led to the re-establishment of freedom, that it cannot be passed over in silence. Of all those who have appeared on the political stage of Spain, within the above epoch, the character of Henry O'Donnell, Count Abisbal, is unquestionably the most wavering and enigmatical. The immediate descendant of a family driven from Ireland by the same causes which expatriated that of Lacy and so many others, the Count, much more highly favoured on the score of fortune than the hero of Catalonia, had the reputation of being nearly his equal in military knowledge and personal bravery, qualities which he frequently displayed during the war of independence. It was however just after the laurels of O'Donnell had fresh gathered in the field of honour, and while the liberales conceived they had not a more staunch supporter or determined friend, that the army of reserve under his command followed the baneful example of Elio's corps, and declared in favour of despotism against the constitution. Whatever might have been the motive which induced the Count thus to sacrifice such dearly earned fame, and the interests of his country, it is certain he retained his honours and emoluments in 1814, while his nomination to the board of general officers for re-organizing the army, proved he had become a favourite at court. Like all those who vacillate in their political principles, a variety of anecdotes are in circulation, relative to the subsequent conduct of Count Abisbal; the few particulars I am about to relate, were communicated to me previous to my arrival here, and as they have been in a great measure confirmed by respectable testimony since that time, there is the less reason to doubt their authenticity.

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* This atrocious document will be found in the appendix.

That O'Donnell was not sincere in his adherence to Ferdinand, is evident from the correspondence he is said to have entered into with the confidential attendants of Charles IV. in 1815, for the avowed purpose of restoring the old monarch and converting him into a constitutional King. Having, on his return from the French frontier, met Lacy here, they made up a misunderstanding which had occurred some years before, and solemnly engaged thenceforth to co-operate with each other in the great work of national regeneration. Appointed Captain-general of Andalusia, soon after, the Count was one of those who urged Lacy to strike the first blow in Catalonia, promising faithfully to support the attempt with all the troops under his command at Cadiz and its vicinity. Notwithstanding his famous order of the day, on the failure of Porlier, which once more shook the confidence inspired by his recent professions, Abisbal took great pains to manifest his wishes in favour of a change, when in addition to his former appointment, he was named commander in chief of the expedition, towards the end of 1818. One of the reasons now alleged by the General, for the vehemence with which he expressed his opinions, and called upon the officers to join him in proclaiming the constitution, arose from his anxiety to atone for having, through false zeal and misplaced loyalty, contributed to its suspension in 1814; difficult as it was to confide in the promises of one who had so often varied, the Count gave such proofs of sincerity on this occasion, that he at length succeeded in making converts of the most sceptical. The prospect which now opened before O'Donnell was truly flattering; he had recovered the esteem of his fellow soldiers, and was about to obtain immortality, by leading them on to the goal of freedom : a day being fixed for proclaiming the constitution, the duties of all those who were destined to participate in the sacred enterprize were traced out, and confidential agents selected to prepare the minds of the soldiery. As the time of declaring themselves approached, the patriots, justly apprehensive of the evil consequences which could not fail to result from having the civil administration in the hands of a military chief, proposed that a provisional junta of government should be appointed until the cortes could be assembled. The Count is said to have been quite indignant at a proposal, which seemed to call his own talents and patriotism in question, and expressions are attributed to him, which if ever uttered, certainly justify the determination of the officers not to act, nor proceed in the design on any other terms. The General and his second in command, Sarsfield,* also the intimate friend of Lacy, are supposed to have, from that moment, renounced the project. This intention, however, was carefully concealed. It having been previously arranged, that the troops should encamp at Port St. Mary's, and the 15th July appointed for carrying the plan into execution, O'Donnell called his friends together, and informed them that, as there was every reason to believe the whole scheme had been discovered by the court, it would be impossible to wait so long; he had therefore determined to fix the morning of the 8th, for effecting the object in view, and hoped this would be equally agreeable to their wishes. The communication was most joyfully received, and no suspicion entertained of the intended change on the part of their leader. Orders were accordingly issued for the regiments to assemble on the plain of Palmar, near Xerez, at which town Sarsfield was quartered with the cavalry. The General himself left Cadiz on the evening of the 7th, causing those of the inhabitants who were in the secret, to inform the people that he was going to proclaim the constitution, and would return the following day to perform the same office amongst them; alleging that as

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* This officer is descended from Lord Lucan, who espoused the cause of James II. in Ireland, where the name of Sarsfield is still familiar, as the hero of a popular national drama, called the battle of Aughrim, or the fall of St. Ruth, in which Lucan endeavoured to sustain the interests of his master against those of William III. The Spanish general served with Lacy and O'Donnell during the war, and until the 8th July, 1819, he was

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considered as one of the best officers and bravest men in the Peninsula. But no virtues or talents, however great, can avail those who betray public liberty: an axiom which is amply proved in the present case; for ever since the part taken by Sarsfield in the transactions of the above day, his past glories are blasted, and his very existence almost consigned to oblivion, or remembered only to be contemned.

the army had unfortunately destroyed it in 1814, the first cry of liberty should emanate from the camp, so as to efface the errors of that melancholy period. Nothing could exceed the joy evinced by all those who heard this piece of intelligence, and preparations were immediately commenced to receive the expected deliverer of his country. Landing at Port St. Mary's, O'Donnell placed himself at the head of some infantry stationed there, and proceeded with them to join the main body, while Sarsfield led on the cavalry from Xerez. The troops were drawn out and had already gone through the usual evolutions, when the second in command, and Abisbal, appeared at the same moment, advancing in opposite directions; expectation was at its height, and both officers and men congratulating each other on the joyful event which would soon terminate the reign of terror. It is, however, evident, that the parties who accompanied the General and his friend, had been taught their lesson, for on Sarsfield perceiving him, his first movement was to ride rapidly along the line, followed by several squadrons of horse, exclaiming *Viva el Rey!* This ominous watch word being repeated by the Count and his party, it soon became general, nor was it until he had summoned the colonels around him, and told them they were prisoners in the King's name, that the patriots would credit the evidence of their senses. It would be vain to attempt describing the astonishment and indignation excited by this extraordinary proceeding; but, before there was sufficient time, either to express their sentiments on such treatment, or appeal to the troops, each of the prisoners, fifteen in number, including the flower of the patriot chiefs, and heroes of La Isla, were hurried off under escorts, and confined in the neighbouring castles. This act, which requires no comment as it speaks for itself, did not secure to Abisbal the confidence or favour of the Court; for, although well received on his arrival here, he was immediately called upon to resign his command, and Count Calderon, a name till then scarcely known to the army, appointed his successor.

Whatever civilities may have been shown to the Count on his return from Andalusia, they did not continue many days; he had doubtless rendered an important service to the servile faction; but O'Donnell must have known that gratitude was not amongst the number of their virtues. On the other hand, although ministers were fully aware of the part he had taken in preparing the revolt, yet they resolved to keep up appearances, until a favorable opportunity occurred for bringing home the charge, or gratifying their resentment. The Count was thus placed between the fear of punishment and those self reproaches arising from having betrayed the patriot cause; not to mention the loss of an occasion which scarcely ever recurs a second time to the most highly favoured individual. There are some acts in public life which cannot be justified, I apprehend the above is of that description :—O'Donnell is said to defend his conduct on the plea that neither the state of opinion, nor the nature of the preparations in other points of the Peninsula, were favorable to the enterprize; and that under these circumstances, a civil war, instead of national freedom, might have been the result of his projected attempt. In contemplating that endless variety of causes which govern human actions, reasons are seldom wanting to palliate whatever depends on the mere discretion of men in power; without pretending to decide on the degree of guilt or innocence attributable to the Count, truth obliges me to say, that his defence has not satisfied the people of Spain, nor exonerated him from the charge of personal ambition. It must be confessed that the experience of present times is peculiarly well calculated to remove those doubts, which have hitherto induced men to hesitate between the fear of anticipating public opinion, and taking advantage of an auspicious moment for restoring the liberties of their country.

The sentiments of the nation had been expressed in such various ways, their sufferings were so multiplied, that no risk, however great, of future and contingent evil, could be fairly put in competition with the certain benefits of a successful effort in favour of freedom: deeply as this truth is engraven on the minds of the most superficial observers in these days of improved political knowledge, it cannot be matter of surprise that neither his brilliant services during the war, nor recent exertions, had removed the fatal impression made by Abisbal's conduct on the plain of Palmar, and which is increased by a very general conviction that he might have marched in triumph to the capital. However poignant the feelings of the Count may now be, at having thus rejected the most glorious, the most exalted boon ever tendered by fortune, it cannot but produce a salutary effect on others; for I defy any future patriot in whose hands the destiny of his country are placed, to reflect on what Henry O'Donnell has lost, without persevering in what he undertakes, or perishing in the attempt!

LETTER XI.

Repugnance of the Soldiery to Embark for South America.—Orders given to Calderon.—Cisneros sent to Superintend the Departure of the Expedition.—Preparations Suspended by the Yellow Fever.—The Troops are Collected at Las Correderas.—Joy of their Meeting.—Renewal of Former Ties.—Motives which Justified the Projected Revolt.—Panegyric on the Chiefs.—Soldiers and People.—Appointment of Leaders.—Quiroga, Riego, and Galiano.—Anecdote and Eulogium on Bertran de Lis.—Day of Rising Fixed.—Constitution Proclaimed at Las Cabezas de San Juan.—March to Arcos, and Arrest of Calderon, &c. Riego Proceeds to Bornos, and Returns with the Regiment of Arragon.—Is Elected General.—First Use made of his New Dignity.—Intended March on Medina.—Arrival of a Messenger from Quiroga.—Some Account of his Proceedings.—Check at the Cortadura.—Campana and the Priesthood at Cadiz.—Entrance of Riego into Xerez, and Junction with the Army of La Isla.—Letter to the King, and other State Papers.—Military Operations which Followed.—Riego Departs with the Flying Column.—Unexampled Heroism of this Officer and his Followers.—Their Dispersion.—Events at La Isla.—Arco Aguero, and Lopez Banos.—Approach of Freyre and his Troops.—Sorties made from La Isla, and Intrepidity of the Patriots.—Correspondence between Freyre and the Patriot General.—Suspension of Hostilities.—Heroes of La Isla Invited to Cadiz.—Massacre of March 10th.—Actors in that Bloody Scene.—The Constitution is Proclaimed in Galicia, Zaragoza, and Madrid.

Madrid, October, 1820.

Although the inexplicable conduct of O'Donnell may have suspended, it did not destroy the hopes of the patriots, much less diminish their repugnance to embarking for the New World, in which so many thousands of the army had already perished, either by the sword or the effects of climate. Regarded as anti-social and impolitic from its commencement, the South American contest was only profitable to those, who, like Ugarte, made it an object of peculation and plunder. But were all the other causes which rendered this unnatural war obnoxious set aside, it would be enough to mention, that the Spanish soldiery felt the weight of their own chains too acutely, willingly to aid in fettering others.*

One circumstance connected with this event deserves particular notice. On the officers and men of the independent garrison perceiving the ragged and destitute condition of their new friends they immediately subscribed a proportion of pay, amounting to seven thousand dollars, for their relief. The merit of this generous act was greatly enhanced by the many privations to which the patriots had themselves been exposed, owing to the stagnation of commerce incident to the revolution. In other respects, the reception of the Spaniards, by all classes of the inhabitants, proved their interests were considered the same; and that an opportunity like the present was only required to show how cordially the subject-many of both hemispheres could fraternize when left to the impulse of their own feelings.

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* The above opinion was fully exemplified in the case of La Trinidad, a frigate composing part of a small squadron despatched to the coasts of Chili and Peru early in 1819; for on reaching the latitude of the river Plate, the crew and troops rose against their officers, and carried her up to Buenos Ayres, where they were received with open arms, and incorporated with the national force.

Notwithstanding the well known sentiments of the army, Calderon received positive instructions to hasten his departure, and the minister of marine, Cisneros, had even repaired to Cadiz to superintend the embarkation. While, however, the instruments of despotism were preparing to execute the orders of the court, an event occurred, which, though calamitous in itself, was yet destined to bring about the dawn of freedom just as the despair of the patriots seemed to have reached its acme, and when hearts less tempered with heroism would have sunk under such accumulated reverses.

The colonels were not many days in confinement before it was announced that the yellow fever had broken out at San Fernando. This horrible scourge having first attacked the inhabitants, soon forced its way to Cadiz and infected the military, who, together with the former suffered dreadfully from its ravages during the following three months. One of the immediate effects attending this visitation, was that of putting a stop to the expeditionary arrangements; and it shortly after became necessary to withdraw the troops from La Isla, so as to separate them from those points most exposed to the epidemy. Las Correderas, a salubrious spot near Alcala de los Gazules, was therefore chosen, here many of the regiments were assembled towards the end of August; nor is it surprising if the first ebullition of joy at this unexpected meeting was succeeded by a renewal of those ties which had been drawn closer by a sense of mutual calamity. It was in truth impossible for the patriots to look back on that series of persecution, suffering and disappointment which had so long afflicted Spain, without feeling the necessity of a change; and if the recollection of the past was not enough to influence their determination, the usual barbarous mode of trying state offences had commenced against their leaders, who, if not liberated, might ere many weeks be transferred to the *presidios* of Africa; on the other hand, tyranny and oppression had attained that point, at which the most bigotted advocate of divine right and passive obedience could no longer dispute the propriety of resistance. Those who may be hereafter led to reflect on the insurrection of La Isla, or make it a rule of action for themselves, will not only keep in mind the motives to revolt, but also recollect that it was not until the army and all Europe were convinced that reform could never proceed from within, and that the future was pregnant with still greater evils than those already experienced, they finally resolved to shake off the yoke. This resolution once made, it is but justice to add, that their firmness throughout the struggle, and unexampled moderation when the victory was achieved, have furnished history with her brightest page, while they entitled the actors in this memorable drama to the choicest blessings of liberty. In whatever point of view this event is considered; whether as it regards the intrepidity of the chiefs, persevering constancy of the troops, or zeal and enthusiasm of the people, it would be extremely difficult to find a parallel in the annals of any other nation: and though deprived of that halo which time and distance throws over the heroic deeds of other days, it is not the less worthy of admiration, or interesting as a subject of useful meditation to the patriot, philosopher and statesman.

As the plan of rising had been arranged previous to the removal of O'Donnell, the great object of the patriots was to conceal their design, and supply his place with a leader whose former conduct afforded somewhat better guarantees for being faithful to the cause. Antonio Quiroga had been amongst the most zealous members of the secret societies, and from his character for steadiness, as well as being the senior colonel arrested on the 8th of July, was unanimously elected to the envied post of general in chief. As Quiroga remained a close prisoner, the glory of commencing the enterprize was reserved for Rafael de Riego, one of those rare meteors destined by providence to appear on the political horizon, and cheer the friends of human liberty, when venality and corruption seem to have destroyed every hope of its restoration. This officer had joined the camp at Palmar some days before the arrest took place, and would have probably shared the fate of his friends, were it not for a severe illness which obliged him to retire to Bornos, where he continued till the 10th of November, when he was called on to take a part in the conferences of Las Correderas. Being still in a state of extreme debility, the admirers of Riego observe that the impulse which liberty alone can give enabled him to encounter and surmount the formidable difficulties he had to vanquish. Persons who participated in the honours of the insurrection, have assured me that his exertions were altogether incredible, and such as leave him scarcely any time for sleep or refreshment: but in communicating a portion of his own unconquerable spirit to others, this extraordinary man may be said to have ensured the success which crowned their subsequent efforts.

Having organized an extensive correspondence with the provinces; received assurances of support; and made such other arrangements as the magnitude of the enterprise required, the next point was to fix the day of rising. None could be more appropriate than the commencement of a new year; it was therefore determined that the second epoch of Spanish regeneration should date from the first of January, 1820.

While Riego and his friends were completing the military preparations, and concerting the escape of Quiroga, Arco Aguero, chief of the staff, and his companions, shut up by Abisbal, another individual appeared on the scene, who merits the title of the civil, as Riego does that of the military hero of the revolution. I allude to Antonio

Alcala Galiano, one of the most eloquent men in Spain. The court having long wished to rid itself of this powerful orator and resolute patriot, had named him Secretary of Legation at Rio Janeiro, and he went to Gibraltar under pretence of procuring a passage. No sooner, however, had Galiano entered the gates, than all his thoughts were turned to the means of saving his country; having engaged the exiles who happened to be in that fortress to hold themselves in readiness, he repaired to Cadiz, and in unison with the principal merchants there, provided the funds necessary for defraying the expences of the projected movement, after which they adopted such measures as were most likely to ensure the co-operation of the garrison and the inhabitants.*

The artless yet heroic manner in which Bertran de Lis speaks of the fortitude displayed by his son, and of their interview just before the moment of execution, takes his auditor back to the best days of Grecian and Roman lore, and would melt the most insensible. Quiroga is the intimate friend of the Valencian patriot, and resides in his house. It is hoped he will pardon this involuntary departure from his modest injunction, but it could not be avoided without concealing an example which may in some future day operate as a most salutary example to others.

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* In noticing those capitalists whose lives and fortunes have been devoted to the grand work of restoring public liberty in Spain, I cannot omit the name of Bertran de Lis, of Valencia, as having mainly contributed to the triumph at La Isla, by his liberality in supplying large sums of money for the use of the patriot forces. Although this truly public spirited individual had often been called upon to assist the court during the reign of terror, neither his zeal nor exertions in favour of freedom were relaxed. One of his sons, a youth of eighteen, was amongst the victims of Elio's ferocity in 1819. Young de Lis suffered with Vidal, disdaining to accept the proffered mercy of his persecutors, and evinced unexampled greatness of mind to the last.

These important matters settled, it was finally decided, that Riego with the battalion of Asturias, which he commanded in second, stationed at Las Cabezas de San Juan, and the Seville regiment at Villa Martin, should march on Arcos, the head quarters of Calderon, while Quiroga proceeded at the head of two other regiments, those of Spain and the crown, from Alcala, the place of his detention, to the bridge of Suazo, thence to La Isla, and passing along the Cortadura, so as to reach the walls of Cadiz by day-break, when the gates were to be instantly thrown open.

The fact of Riego having to open the campaign of freedom while labouring under the effects of a recent indisposition, in the midst of a severe winter, when the roads were rendered almost impassable, surrounded by above twelve thousand men, of whom only a small part had from motives of prudence been made acquainted with the intended plan; and finally, his doubts as to the sincerity of some who were to assist in the first operations, should be considered in order fairly to appreciate the merit of his undertaking. It was in the face of these formidable difficulties, that orders were issued for the battalion of Asturias to be drawn out at an early hour on the 1st, when after a spirited address from Riego, on the sacred duty they were about to perform, he proclaimed the constitution of 1812, amidst the acclamations of his companions in arms and the inhabitants of San Juan, who had assembled to enjoy the glorious event.

Owing to the time occupied by the election of Constitutional Alcaldes, and some other arrangements, it was late in the afternoon before the regiment could leave Las Cabezas: proceeding in the dark, over cross roads broken up by the rains, which even now fell in torrents, it arrived within a short distance of Arcos at daylight on the 2nd, after a most harassing march of more than twelve hours. Instead of meeting the corps from Villa Martin, as previously agreed, Riego was informed that it had, from the ignorance of its guides, taken a wrong direction, and could not therefore be expected to join for some time. This unlooked for disappointment was the more irksome from the battalion being exposed to the view of the garrison of Arcos, twice as numerous, and strongly posted; whereas Riego's men had been under arms nearly twenty-four hours and were quite exhausted with their march. To increase the dilemma, every possible method had been tried to preserve the fidelity of the troops at

Arcos, and fears were entertained lest the civil authorities might persuade the people to join them.—It was while the officers and men were ruminating on the danger of their situation, and when many began to relinquish every hope of success, that Riego, who had advanced to reconnoitre the force at Arcos, suddenly returned, and ordered the drum to beat to arms, repeated his instructions to those appointed to arrest Calderon and his staff, entered the town preceded by the band playing a popular air. Having posted a part of the regiment on a rising ground close to the barrier, and occupied the market-place with a few companies, the arrest of Calderon, Salvador, his second in command, and the whole of the staff, was effected in less than an hour after. The fears of Riego were in some degree realized by the main guard firing on the party which was about to enter the residence of the commander in chief; this was, however, returned and two of the aggressors were killed on the spot. On hearing the report of musquetry, Riego rushed forward to ascertain what had given rise to it, but before he reached the head-quarters, Calderon had surrendered his sword, and together with the rest of the staff were confined in his own house. Not a moment was lost in proclaiming the political code, and electing local authorities. The decision and presence of mind shown by Riego on this critical occasion, is above all praise, and proves that he was fully aware of the momentous consequences which were involved in the mode of conducting the attack on Arcos. Had this failed there was an end to the hopes of pursuing the enterprise, and it required no common share of resolution to persevere, when it was found that not more than half the number calculated on were present. The next object of Riego, was to dispatch an express to Quiroga, informing him of what had been achieved.

As the Seville regiment did not arrive until these measures were completed, the honour of first proclaiming the constitution belonged to that of Asturias, but as this arose from mere accident, it created neither anger nor jealousy, so that their junction under such happy auspices was a source of the utmost gratification to both parties. After transferring the prisoners to a place of greater security, the attention of Riego was turned to gain over the troops found at Arcos; this he effected, though not without some persuasion, for Calderon had taken infinite pains to prevent their defection. Still ignorant of Quiroga's movements, the time could not be better employed than in collecting such battalions as were quartered round the neighbourhood. A previous understanding had been established with some officers of the regiment of Bornos, but whose colonel was known to be hostile; neither this circumstance, nor the excessive fatigue he had undergone, prevented Riego from selecting a detachment of three hundred men and marching to that place. Having halted within a few hundred yards of the town, and proceeded alone to the entrance, Riego was met by some of his friends, to whom he communicated the result of his labours at Arcos; the tidings spread with rapidity through the Battalion, which assembled immediately, and was in less than an hour on its way to head-quarters, leaving the colonel to his meditations, and the command of some convalescents recently recovered from the yellow fever. On reaching Arcos, the party was received with loud shouts of long live Riego and the constitution. A general muster taking place soon after, the officers and soldiers expressed their admiration of Riego's heroic conduct still farther, by unanimously investing him with the rank of general in chief. He thanked them for this proof of approbation, and promised to leave nothing untried to merit their future confidence. The first use Riego made of his new dignity, was to cause all present, including the civil authorities, to swear fealty to the constitution.

The efforts of Riego had as yet been crowned with all that success which was due to his resolution and gallantry: but being sufficiently versed in the theory of revolutions to know, that those who draw the sword should not only throw away the sheath, but never relax in their exertions till the object in view is achieved! The non-arrival of any intelligence from Quiroga gave him the greatest uneasiness, rendering it a matter of doubt whether it was best to proceed towards La Isla, or remain at Arcos. Thus situated, he consulted the officers, and after a short deliberation, it was decided that if no account came within a given time, the four battalions, of which their force now consisted, should march on Medina, so as to make converts of the troops there, and the neighbouring town. That the intermediate hours might be usefully employed they agreed to mix with the soldiery, and explain the motives of the rising, point out its necessity and the advantages which would accrue to themselves, as well as the nation, from the event.

The time fixed for marching having arrived, it was found that owing to the state of the roads, and the difficulty which must attend crossing the Majeceite, the troops could not reach Medina. Riego therefore resolved to take the direction of Xerez, which, if it did not tend to increase his numbers would at least enable him to intercept the communication between Seville and Cadiz, and thus procure supplies of money to pay the men.* The regiments had, however, scarcely quitted Arcos, when the anxiously expected messenger arrived, bringing details of the progress at La Isla, and a letter from Quiroga, desiring that Riego should join him with all possible dispatch.

It now appeared that the same causes, which rendered the march from Arcos to Medina impracticable, prevented Quiroga's moving before the afternoon of the 2nd. An officer and party sent on earlier in the day, had succeeded in disarming the advanced posts at Portazgo, and occupied the bridge of Suazo. Setting out with the regiment stationed at Alcala, Quiroga was joined on his way through Medina by the other battalion, and after marching all night over a road in which the soldiers were often knee-deep, did not reach the bridge of Suazo till nine o'clock on the next morning, above six hours later than he had calculated upon. It was not amongst the least of those inconveniences attending this delay, that several detachments which had come up from different points, not finding the General-in-chief at the place appointed, thought the plan must have failed, and therefore returned to their quarters. Fortunately for Quiroga and his friends, none of the civil or military authorities were on the alert, so that San Fernando was occupied without opposition. The first measure of the patriot general after proclaiming the constitution, was to secure the person of old Cisneros, and all others who were likely to impede the success of the enterprize.

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* When Torres, the intendant or commissary-general, arrested at Arcos, was summoned to give up the money in his possession; all that could be found for an army of 15,000 men was eleven thousand dollars!

As the exhausted condition of the troops would not admit of pushing with the main body, Don Jose Rodriguez advanced at the head of four companies to surprize the first lines of La Cortadura. Received with a volley of musquetry, by which three of his men fell, instead of returning the fire he withdrew. This untoward event, at once convinced Quiroga that the golden opportunity had been lost and Cadiz put into a state of defence: his conjectures were but too well founded. Campana the governor, had been secretly informed of the projected attack, and lost no time in taking the steps necessary to counteract its success. Amongst other precautions, the pay of the garrison was more than trebled, while the Bishop and priesthood were directed to represent the patriots as being only intent on massacre and plunder.

This early and unexpected check, so discouraging in itself, was however counterbalanced by the arrival of Riego's messenger, whose communication relative to the events at Arcos, consoled the General-in-chief for the failure on his own side. As a totally new turn was thus given to the operations on both sides, Quiroga determined to wait the junction of his able second in command before any other measures were adopted.

The hero of Arcos and Las Cabezas was not idle, having directed the escort in charge of Calderon and his staff to bring up the rear, he proceeded towards Xerez, which place the division entered early on the 5th, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people, from whom a knowledge of the recent occurrences had been carefully concealed. After those mutual congratulations, so natural on such an occasion, Riego, who had ascended the telegraph communicating with La Isla, and announced his arrival, repaired to the town hall, where the principal inhabitants were already assembled to hail him as their deliverer. This interview was followed by a request from the General, that the populace might be summoned to attend the election of Municipal Authorities; these being named and sworn to maintain the political code, it was proclaimed in due form. The interchange of signals amongst the patriot forces produced an electric effect on both sides; when Quiroga drew out his men, and stated the approach of their companions, they rent the air with frequent *vivas*, and no longer remembered the failure at La Cortadura. Anxious to reach San Fernando, Riego pushed on to Port St. Mary's the same night, and was welcomed by great numbers of the people, who vied with each other in providing quarters and refreshment for the troops. An important acquisition was made soon after the patriots arrived here, by the sudden appearance of Arco Aguero, O'Daly, and some other distinguished officers, who had just escaped from the castle of San Sebastian, in which they had been confined ever since the arrests at Palmar. Their liberation was due to a patriotic merchant of Cadiz, named Imbrecht, aided by Don Rafael Montes, who had been charged with their safe custody.

The morning of the 6th was devoted to thanksgiving and prayer; this ceremony, performed in the open air, and during which the people and soldiers were indiscriminately seen, expressing their gratitude to heaven, and imploring its protection, has been, not inaptly, contrasted with the mummery of priests and inquisitors, whose chief delight had hitherto been derived from collecting the citizens to walk in the procession of some saint, witness the reception of a novice, or celebrate an Auto de Fé! The above act of true religion being terminated, Riego and his friends, including all the inhabitants, went to vote at the election of Alcaldes, and proclaim the constitution.

It was intended that the battalions should sleep at San Fernando on the 6th, but, owing to the heavy rains, it became necessary to halt at Puerto Real, whence Riego conducted the prisoners, and was followed next day by the main body. I need not dwell on the meeting of the patriot corps, nor say how much their pleasure was heightened by the difficulties which attended their first efforts. The conduct of all those who had embarked in this sacred cause, was, in every respect, worthy of free men. Instead of giving way to expressions of vengeance, or vowing the retaliations so richly merited by their oppressors, both officers and men seemed exclusively engaged in congratulating each other on being thus placed in a situation to act with more efficacy, and reiterating their determination not to abandon the enterprize until liberty had triumphed.

When mustered, it was found that the utmost strength of the national army, in rank and file, did not exceed five thousand men, consisting of seven battalions; those of Asturias, Seville, Aragon, Spain, Guides, the crown, and a regiment of invalids, but unsupported by either artillery or cavalry. The officers having assembled at night to organize a staff, and fix on some plan of future operations, Quiroga was again recognized as General-in-chief, Riego appointed second in command, Arco Aguero placed at the head of the staff, with Evaristo San Miguel, as his principal assistant. Colonel Miranda, the personal friend of Riego, was also confirmed in the post he had filled so ably, since the rising at Las Cabezas. The officers who had escaped being replaced at the head of their regiments, the whole force was formed into two divisions, of which one remained under the direction of Quiroga, and the other that of Riego.

The 8th was ushered in by proclaiming the constitution, electing Alcaldes, and restoring the *Lapida*, which had been torn down by the priests in 1814; upon which Quiroga's celebrated letter to Ferdinand, wherein the motives of the insurrection and resolution of the patriots not to lay down their arms till he should have subscribed to their conditions, are set forth with no less dignity than moderation, was read to the troops, and posted up throughout the town. This and the manifesto promulgated a few days after, cannot fail to be regarded as most precious historical documents in future times. If, for example, amidst those vicissitudes which seem to be inseparable from political society as it is now constituted, any other army should be called upon to liberate an oppressed and suffering people, the proclamations and state papers emanating from the heroes of La Isla, will furnish an inestimable source of the purest patriotism, and serve as models worthy of imitation.

While the leaders were making the arrangements necessary for assuming the offensive, they did not despair of still seeing the gates of Cadiz open to receive them; such, however, was the vigilance of Campana, and his extensive means of corruption, that new obstacles appeared to rise hourly, until the patriot chiefs at length saw, that the best way of securing a successful termination of their labours was to prove they were as well prepared to fight as to write letters and issue proclamations. Having concentrated their whole force at San Fernando, previous to more active measures, news arrived, that Joseph O'Donnel, brother to Abisbal, commanding at Algeciras, had quitted his head-quarters, accompanied by several regiments, and published a vehement address against the national army; on the other side, Freyre consented to replace Calderon, while Campana and the Bishop in Cadiz strove who should heap most abuse and anathemas on the heads of the patriots.* Many other causes of discouragement and alarm might be mentioned, particularly those arising from the state of the weather, and the hardships which must necessarily attend military operations on roads broken up by incessant rains: but the spirit of liberty was omnipotent: every difficulty vanished, and they now thought only of the bright prospects before them.

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* An admirable reply to the Bishop's pastoral letter, was addressed to *His Excellency*, on the 14th; this paper was signed by Quiroga, and contained a triumphant refutation of that prelate's doctrines in favour of absolute power, as also another eloquent appeal to the nation.

The apprehensions entertained by some of the leaders, that their exclusion from Cadiz would deter others from joining the patriotic ranks, were happily removed on the morning of the 10th, by the arrival of the Canary regiment, and a brigade of artillery, led by Colonel Bermuda, and Lopez Baños. Riego being detached with a column of twelve hundred men, to cover their entry into La Isla, succeeded in driving back several piquets of cavalry, and returned without interruption from the royal army, which had, by this time, approached much nearer to the bridge of Suazo. The second in command was next sent to oppose the march of O'Donnel, who had advanced to Medina, as also for the purpose of gaining over the troops at Vejar and other points. This well-timed movement had the effect of checking the servile General, and would have ended by adding the battalion of America to his division; but Campana having contrived to send emissaries into San Fernando, Quiroga thought it prudent to urge his immediate return. As some time would elapse before Riego could reach head-quarters, the roads being still in a wretched state, the military junta, formed for directing the operations, decided that an attack should be made in the mean while on the naval arsenal of La Caraca, which, besides the many other advantages to be derived from its possession, would open a communication with Puerto Real and Port St. Mary's. While Captain Guiral, of the navy, undertook to convey the troops destined for this service; Don Lorenzo Garcia, colonel of the Aragon regiment, was entrusted with their command. This party, consisting of four hundred picked men, having embarked in some gun boats about midnight on the 12th, were discovered by a sentinel, who gave the alarm; but before any effectual preparation could be made for defence, the fort was carried by escalade, without the loss of a man. The national army was considerably strengthened by this coup-de-main, as all those who composed the garrison, nearly five hundred men, immediately joined their fellow-soldiers. Guiral also took possession of a ship of the line, and numerous flotilla.*

The success of their first essay encouraged the patriots to attempt another on the Cortadura, which was so essential to the interests of the cause; but as it would require a larger force than that employed against the Caraca, they determined to await the arrival of Riego; this did not take place before the 14th; as there was no time to lose, the attack was fixed for three o'clock on the following morning, and from the preparations made, afforded every chance of a successful issue. A volunteer force of seven hundred men having advanced in three columns, one of these was about to apply scaling ladders to an angle of the works, when it was discovered that the guides had led it to a totally different point from that intended, and to a part where there were but very slender hopes of succeeding. Riego, too anxious to be foremost in the attack, had nearly mounted an outer parapet when the ladder slipped, and he was precipitated from a height of several feet, by which he received a severe contusion. There had been so much time lost by these two circumstances, that it was impossible to effect the object in view before daylight, and as the discovery would expose the troops to a destructive fire, the column was ordered to retreat.

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* Amongst the state prisoners liberated from the dungeons of La Caraca, there were several South Americans who had been sent to Spain by Morillo; Lopez, sirnamed El Cojo de Malaga, so distinguished for his heroism during the war of independence, and proscribed in 1814, was also restored to light on this occasion; but he has since fallen a victim to the effects of his long imprisonment.

While Riego was recovering from the effects of his fall, a variety of important objects engrossed the attention of the General-in-chief: although the attack on the Cortadura could not be resumed for a few days, it was not abandoned; and both naval and military preparations were continued for that purpose; an active correspondence was also kept up with Cadiz and the provinces, and numerous arrangements made relative to the comfort and even amusement of the troops; while Lopez Baños, and Arco Aguero, superintended large working parties, who were employed in fortifying San Fernando, so as to put the national army beyond the danger of surprise.

The second-in-command, having gained sufficient strength to renew his exertions by the 21st, led a party to the water-side, and was about to embark for Cadiz, where a weak part of the walls was supposed to admit of an easy escalade; but informed of the design by his agents at San Fernando, Campana had time to place a strong guard on the vulnerable point, and make other preparations for repelling the intended attack, it was relinquished. The hopes of entering Cadiz were, however, revived three days afterwards, in consequence of an assurance from a Colonel Rotalde of the garrison, that he had organized a rising amongst the seamen and inhabitants, in which the regiment of Soria was to take an active part. Had it not been for the defection of some persons, on whom this officer had calculated for support, and the delay which occurred in delivering a letter from him to Quiroga, there was every probability of his plan being crowned with success. When assembled in the square of San Antonio, Rotalde found that those charged with the arrests of Campana and his adherents, had, either through fear or treachery failed in their promises; so that after an ineffectual struggle with a servile corps, organized under the immediate auspices of the Governor and priesthood,* he was obliged to abandon the enterprise and save himself by flight. In order to make a diversion in favour of the movement at Cadiz, Riego had embarked with a division at San Carlos, and landing near Puerto Real, advanced to Port St. Mary's, recently occupied by a large body of cavalry, who fled at the approach of the patriots, leaving them in quiet possession of the town. The inhabitants welcomed this second visit of Riego and his companions with their wonted enthusiasm; perceiving that the project of Rotalde had failed, the column returned to San Fernando, having previously obtained considerable supplies of provisions, arms, and money from their friends.

Were it not for the confidence entertained by the patriots in the justice of their cause, and their characteristic heroism, the failure of Rotalde, followed, as it was by numerous arrests, coupled with the unaccountable tardiness of the nation in declaring its well known sentiments in favour of freedom, was unquestionably of a nature to dishearten the national army, especially now that nearly a whole month had elapsed since its assemblage, and that promises of support had been sent from so many quarters. Nothing could be more perplexing than the state of affairs at this moment: all the efforts of servilism were at work here, and in other places, to counteract the events at San Fernando and defeat their effects: several regiments had joined Freyre, who advanced, with 6000 men from Seville, occupying all the roads leading to La Isla. To remain inactive might be still more injurious to the cause than continuing on the defensive; and although the Royalist General had attempted to seduce the patriots into submission by his letter of the 15th, addressed to Quiroga, from Seville, there was every appearance of a wish on his part to proceed hostilely, and cooperate with Campana. The insurrection had, in fact, reached that point, when the smallest symptom of fear or weakness might have been fatal to the patriots, and prolong the reign of terror to an indefinite period. There are moments in the history of nations, as well as of individuals, in which the calculations of prudence lose all their efficacy, and if indulged, or made the rule of action, may be productive of that ruin which they are intended to avert: such was the state of the patriot army on the 25th of January, when Riego, prompted by one of those inspirations which occur only to great minds, suggested the idea of marching at the head of a flying column, to spread the seeds of liberty in the provinces, and keep the servile faction in check, while the remainder of the army should maintain its position at San Fernando. Many as were the objections that might have been made to this proposal, it was received with unequivocal approbation by the military junta, and when communicated to the troops, they are said to have crowded round the General-in-chief, earnestly soliciting permission to form a part of the intended legion.

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* Although the garrison consisted of nearly 3000 men, the battalion alluded to above, called *Los Leales de Fernando Septimo*, or loyals of Ferdinand VII, was the only corps from which Rotalde expected much resistance: its conduct on the 10th March, justified his fears.

Having selected fifteen hundred men for the above important service, and made such hasty arrangements as the shortness of the notice permitted, Riego, and his corps, upon which the destinies of millions were suspended, left the Isla at day-break on the 27th, passing over Chiclana amidst cries of *Viva la constitucion!* repeated on every side by the people, they slept at Conil, and proceeded to Vejer next day; after proclaiming the constitution, and electing municipal officers here, the column resumed its march, crossed the heights of Ojen on the 30th, and arrived at Algeciras on the following evening. The proximity of this place to Gibraltar, whence Riego fully expected those succours of which his men stood so much in need, rendered its possession of great consequence. The patriot general could not have rested his hopes on a more fragile foundation; for although the eloquence of Galiano might have influenced a few of the Spanish residents, the motley population of that fortress, made up of all nations, religions and colours, were too long accustomed to the rigid sway of military rule, and intent on bettering their own fortunes, to feel much interest about the freedom of others. With the exception, therefore, of a few hundred pair of shoes, smuggled out of the garrison in the dead of night, Riego and his friends perceived how completely they had mistaken the disposition of the governor and inhabitants of the rock.* As to those of Algeciras, their reception of the column was enthusiastic in the extreme, and though the first impulse of patriotism was soon damped by the insinuations of priests and serviles, yet did the soldiers derive many advantages from their stay there. Their arrival was marked by an appropriate and energetic proclamation, calling upon the people to appreciate the blessings conferred upon them by the constitution, which was promulgated forthwith, and the *Lapida* restored. After swearing in the magistrates, *Te Deum* was sung and an impressive sermon preached by a monk: who, from the fervent zeal with which he enjoined an adherence to the political code, redeemed some portion of the errors so justly attributed to the regular clergy.

Although O'Donnel did not attempt to prevent their departure from San Fernando, his division followed the patriots by another road, occupying

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* This is the vulgar, but apt term, by which Gibraltar is distinguished in our naval and military circles.

Tarifa and San Roque, in which towns the royal troops remained, without manifesting any intention of attacking them. Riego would have soon put the infatuated followers of the royalist general to the test, had not the fears of Quiroga, at the menacing attitude assumed by the army under Freyre, induced him to dispatch a messenger, directing that the flying column should retrograde and join him with all possible celerity. However this unexpected summons may have disconcerted the views of Riego and his companions, he did not hesitate obedience, and having obtained partial supplies for his men, they quitted Algeciras on the 7th of February, chaunting a patriotic hymn, expressly composed for the sacred battalion, and destined to produce a talismanic effect on its future operations.*

Having re-crossed the range of Ojen without interruption, the troops had scarcely set out on their march towards Vejer next morning, before a large body of cavalry was observed in front, formed evidently to oppose their march. Riego immediately prepared to attack the enemy, and when ready, advanced at a quick pace, some crying long live the Constitution, and *Viva la Patria!* while others commenced the war song, which had now become familiar to every ear. The coolness and intrepidity with which the column advanced astonished and awed the cavalry to such a degree that they defiled on each side the road, opening a passage, through which the patriots were suffered to pass, without a single effort being made to annoy them.

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* Poetry and music have ever been powerful auxiliaries to freedom in all countries; but in none more than in the Peninsula. The hymn here alluded to, is, in fact, closely connected with the history of the late Revolution; it is worthy of the subject, and has found an able translator in my friend Mr. Bowring. Evaristo San Miguel, chief of the staff, and the historian of the expedition, is the author of this deservedly popular production.

On reaching Vejer, Riego found that owing to all the approaches to the Isla being occupied by detachments from the army of Freyre, it would be hazardous to proceed. Thus surrounded by hostile chiefs, who still continued to stifle public opinion, and impose on the credulity of the soldiery, the position of the column would have filled many a leader with alarm: whereas, Riego resolved to profit by the difficulty of returning to San Fernando, and carry his original design into effect. Some additional supplies of money and horses being procured, religion was again called in to the aid of liberty: a military banquet, at which the officers and privates mingled, was given by the inhabitants, and closed with a public ball, where all the beauty of Vejer appeared, encouraging the defenders of freedom to persevere in the glorious struggle. It was on the 12th, after three days passed in festivity and warlike preparation, that the patriot general moved forward with a determination to reach Malaga, where the column arrived on the 18th closely pursued, and often attacked by the vanguard of O'Donnel: what with treason and resistance, neither the bravery nor firmness displayed by Riego and his followers here, enabled the patriots to realize the hopes held out by those of the inhabitants who had expressed so much anxiety for their arrival.

Perceiving that the fears of the people got the better of their patriotism, for they had witnessed those impetuous charges of cavalry repelled by a portion of the column which had taken possession of the great square, without showing a disposition to co-operate, Riego had no alternative between suffering all the fruits of his gallantry to be lost at Malaga, and pushing on to another point. The latter was chosen, and having effected their retreat, in excellent order, the column entered Antequera on the 22nd,* still, harassed by the enemy's cavalry. Though reduced by the causes, moral and physical, naturally attendant on such an enterprise, the General set out, on the following day, for Ronda; here the troops were encountered by a force double their number, but, having charged and driven them through the town, some rations were levied; upon which Riego halted for the night in the vicinity. Resuming their march on the 24th, the patriots successively visited Grazadema, Puerto Serrano and Montellano, where another attack of cavalry was sustained, and as courageously repelled. During the time which elapsed between the column's march from Montellano till its arrival at Montilla, on the 8th March, it had scarcely an hour's repose, and besides having to resist the frequent charges of the enemy, their march lay over almost inaccessible mountains without regular roads. From Montilla, where the column remained for some hours, Riego determined to gain the Sierra Morena; but there being no direct road to it, without passing through Cordova, he marched towards that city at all hazards. This was, perhaps, the boldest step hitherto taken. There was a regiment of dismounted cavalry at Cordova: a considerable portion of this corps was posted on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, apparently to oppose their passage. The column having baffled the efforts of enemies so much more numerous, its present adversaries were treated with perfect indifference. The other troops stationed at Cordova remained in their quarters, unwilling to interfere in what was passing: when within a few yards of the bridge which separated them from the city, the column, now reduced to three hundred men, began the favourite hymn, which resounded through the ranks, as if by one common impulse, and thus marched through the main street to a convent in the opposise suburb, followed by an immense concourse of the people.

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* Another spirited proclamation was addressed to the inhabitants of this place.

The whole population of Cordova came forth to witness this extraordinary scene, filling the streets and windows by which the patriots had to march. A profound silence pervaded the multitude, as these emulators of the sacred bands of Thermopylæ and Underwald passed along, barefooted and so badly clothed as not to be shielded from the inclemency of the season. This singular and affecting sight is said to have drawn tears from every eye, and though no violent marks of discontent were manifested, the silent sympathy of all ranks sufficiently indicated the state of public feeling.

The column pursued its way towards the Sierra on the 8th, and passing through Espier, Azuaga, Berlanga and Villagarcia, reached Bienvenida at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th.

Diminished to a still smaller number, worn out with fatigue, and surrounded by various detachments, whose leaders sought their destruction, the situation of the patriots was too critical to admit of any doubt as to the only alternative which now remained. Forced by irresistible necessity to disperse, their separation was embittered by the reflexion, that the object of their enterprise had not been fulfilled, and that if they succeeded in escaping from famine and disease, it might be to perish on the scaffold, or pass the remainder of their days on a foreign soil!

In closing his interesting account of this memorable expedition, San Miguel observes: such was the fate of a column, worthy, by its patriotism and valour, of the most brilliant triumphs. Where so many concurrent circumstances combined against us, it was morally impossible for the result to be different. Fanaticism on the part of an enemy, always more than triple our number; dismay and timidity amongst the well affected; pusilanimity and weakness of those who abandoned us in the hour of danger; the violation of promises by others who had engaged in the cause; unheard of labour and fatigue, and, above all, such rapid marches, night and day, through a mountainous country intersected by torrents and ravines, and plains overflown, must have disheartened the bravest troops, and counteracted the efforts of the most experienced. On the other hand, the losses sustained by the flying column redound more to its credit than the greatest victories. Its conduct was invariably analogous to the principles it proclaimed; honour and valour being the constant watch-words. Not a single citizen had reason to complain of its oppression: the laws of humanity were never violated towards the prisoners: those taken at Marbello, Antequera, Malaga, Moron, Montellano and other places, were treated with the utmost consideration and delicacy. Finally, the flying column merited a better fate, and deserves to be held up to the imitation of others!

It has been proposed that a pyramid should be erected at Bienvenida, on the spot of separation, and that the names of those who braved so many dangers, and displayed such constancy, should be inscribed on this symbol of immortality. Whether the design be executed, or not, these envied patriots will divide the admiration of future generations with the most celebrated martyrs of Swiss and Grecian liberty.

When the shattered remains of the flying column separated at Bienvenida, directing their steps, melancholy and broken-hearted, towards the wilds of the Sierra Morena, they little imagined that the cause of freedom had already prevailed, or that its triumph was, in a great measure, due to their own heroism! It is impossible to forget the deep and anxious interest excited by Riego and his followers, from the moment of their departure till their labours terminated. This feeling was no less intense all over Europe, than in the Peninsula: a proof of the importance attached to a corps, destined to be, as it were, the barometer of public opinion: and though so reduced previous to its dispersion, there is no doubt that the fact of Riego's thus keeping the field, not only served to maintain the sacred fire, but had the effect of communicating it to the whole nation.

The merits of the leader, throughout this arduous and difficult undertaking, are so obvious and inestimable, that it might well be regarded as a needless repetition of praises, which still resound from one end of Europe to the other, were I to add a word on the subject.

In returning to the transactions at San Fernando, additional motives for applause are found in the perseverance and gallantry displayed there, after the departure of Riego. As might be expected, Freyre and Campana hastened to profit by this event, so that two days were not suffered to elapse before the Patriots had to repel a sortie from the Cortadura, while numerous detachments cut off their communication with the interior. Though so reduced in numbers, and pressed on every side, the exertions of the national army increased with its difficulties, and notwithstanding the frequent attempts of the enemy, he could not, during a period of five weeks, boast a single trophy, if the capture of a gunboat, taken on the 31st, be excepted. The harsh treatment shewn towards the prisoners on this occasion, proved how little they had to hope from the humanity of their adversaries, and formed a striking contrast with that experienced by those who fell into the hands of the patriots.

The uninterrupted harmony which happily subsisted between the inhabitants and soldiers, who cheerfully shared each others toils and dangers, without a murmur being ever heard to escape either, must have greatly contributed to the successful termination of the struggle. In order, however, that these ties might be drawn still closer, and every doubt removed, on the part of the citizens, a junta of government, composed exclusively of civilians, was created on the 3rd February. It having been determined that they should merely act on the defensive, large working parties were employed in strengthening the more vulnerable points, and constructing several new batteries: the only instance wherein Quiroga deviated from this rule, by driving the advanced posts of Freyre from the lines they had formed near the bridge of Suazo, was crowned with complete success. Various demonstrations for a combined naval and military attack were made afterwards, but always ended in a precipitate retreat; for, as it has since transpired, the Servile Generals well knew there could be no reliance placed on the fidelity of troops bribed to serve the cause of tyranny, and therefore endeavoured to gain their object by threats and intimidation.

From the judicious measures of defence adopted by Lopez Banos and Arco Aguero, the patriots entertained no fears for their own security: their principal uneasiness arose from not receiving any certain information relative to the progress of the flying column. This circumstance, combined with the apparent inactivity of the provinces, could not fail to create considerable anxiety. In addition to those secret intrigues which were carrying on, to undermine the popularity of the chiefs and seduce the soldiery, scarcely a day passed without a proclamation or pastoral letter, in which the former were loaded with abuse, and their followers branded as traitors, or pitied as dupes. To prove that these efforts to sustain a tottering cause were powerless, it was determined that Quiroga should publish his answer to the letter addressed to him by Freyre on the 15th January, but which had, till now, remained unnoticed. After professing the greatest esteem for the patriot general, the epistle of Freyre contained an invitation to betray the national army to its enemies. The reply was, however, couched in such energetic and unequivocal terms, as to have convinced both laity and clergy that they could gain nothing by their literary labours. Besides those reproaches which the base proposal of Freyre was so calculated to excite, it is evident that a wish to preserve the forms of decorum alone prevented the hero of La Isla from adding the epithets of knave and scoundrel to those of traitor and slave.*

While the undivided attention of Europe was rivetted on La Isla, as to a point whence every nation looked for its happiness and freedom, the patriots on their part seemed to feel the incalculable consequences involved in the success or failure of the enterprise. The resolution and presence of mind evinced by Quiroga and his companions, at this crisis, when the smallest symptom of weakness or vacillation might have been fatal to their dearest hopes, ought to be the subject of eternal panegyric, and fully justified the anticipations of their most ardent admirers. Such firmness and constancy could not go unrewarded: that "ripeness,"* so philosophically invoked by our immortal bard, and which seems to be the necessary precursor of political regeneration, had, at length, taken place: the miracle of a whole people having so quietly submitted to six years of unmerited suffering and persecution was about to cease. The flame lighted up in Andalusia, reaching Galicia, soon extended to Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and other points of the Southern coast; thus encircling and irradiating the intermediate provinces before it burst forth in the capital.

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* This famous answer was dated on the 18th February, and together with Freyre's letter was read to the army.

Although the events at Corunna and Pamplona were known to the Royalist Generals in the first days of March, and these persons saw the triumph of liberty was inevitable, they did their utmost to conceal what had occurred in other places; nor was it until the receipt of despatches from the court, stating Ferdinand's adhesion, and the impatience of the people threatened their personal safety, that Freyre and Campana consented to proclaim the Constitution. This intention being announced in an address issued at Port St. Mary's on the 9th, Freyre repaired to Cadiz that night, and could only appease the populace, who had assembled to urge immediate compliance with his instructions, by repeated assurances that their wishes should be gratified early on the following day. Those who have witnessed the enthusiasm with which the people of Spain celebrate the most trifling circumstance favourable to freedom, can alone form an adequate idea of the manner these promises were received, and of the unrestrained hilarity to which they gave rise.

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* The historical plays of Shakspeare, abound with maxims and allusions, which open an inexhaustible source of profound meditation to the politician, as well as the philosopher and statesman. His dénouement of *Lear*, more particularly pointed at above, is doubtless one of the most sublime efforts of the tragic muse. Well may such a writer be called the poet of nature!

Having been hitherto called upon to notice acts of patriotism and virtue, of which there are not many examples to record, it is truly painful to reflect on the closing scene of this interesting drama: but, however unwilling the future historian may be to sully his pages, by describing the massacre of March 10th, he cannot draw a veil over the events of that sanguinary day without incurring the charge of partiality and connivance in favour of the actors. Though the indulgence shown to them here deserves to be ranked amongst the most exalted of those traits which distinguish the Revolution of 1820 from all others, it would be a violation of justice, and disregard of what we owe to posterity, silently to pass over the conduct of men, who in setting all the laws of humanity at defiance, have fixed a stigma on the faction, at whose instigation this horrible deed was perpetrated, which neither time can remove or remorse ever obliterate.

The crime of Freyre and his coadjutors was aggravated by the most refined hypocrisy: appearing as if they cheerfully participated in the general joy, directions were given for regulating the ensuing ceremony, and a formal invitation sent to the foreign Consuls, requesting them to be present with the civil and military authorities. An officer was also dispatched to San Fernando, to invite Quiroga and his staff. As Freyre had rejected a previous proposal to evacuate the Cortadura, and disband the corps formed for the express purpose of opposing the patriots, the General-in-chief, and his friends, were not without a suspicion that some treachery might be meditated; it was determined that a deputation, composed of Galiano, Banos and Aguero, should represent the national army, at the approaching spectacle, while Quiroga remained at his post to watch their common interests.

After a great part of the night being passed in festivity and rejoicing, the morning of the 10th had scarcely dawned, before Cadiz exhibited a scene of indescribable animation: a rich display of tapestry or appropriate banners in all the balconies of this beautiful city, indicated the sentiments of the owners, while groups of both sexes filled the streets and places of worship, congratulating each other on the arrival of that day, which they had so long and ardently anticipated. When it was ascertained that the Deputation from La Isla had set out, the town gates were thrown open;

upon which the people, giving way to the first generous impulse, rushed in thousands towards the Cortadura. I cannot better describe the reception and subsequent treatment of the Patriots, than by an extract from the report made to Quiroga on their return to head-quarters: more especially as this document unites the importance of concurrent testimony to the simplicity of historical narration.

The report is dated on the 15th, and commenced as follows: "Charged by Your Excellency, on the invitation of Don Manuel Freyre, to repair to Cadiz, and make various arrangements relative to proclaiming the Constitution, we proceeded, accompanied by an officer, three orderlies, and a trumpet, to carry your wishes into effect. We had hardly reached the Torre Gorda, when an immense concourse of people were seen coming from the Cortadura, and pursuing their way to San Fernando. The air resounded with acclamations as we passed; nothing but expressions of affection and sympathy were heard; amongst others, they called us their liberators. Unwilling to change the plan agreed upon, of adhering to the forms of war, and advancing as a flag of truce, the trumpeter went forward to summon the Cortadura: his flourish being answered by an assurance that we should be received as friends, we entered the first barrier, and found the crowd increase at every step: all seemed to await our arrival with impatience; some threw their cloaks on the ground to serve as carpets, while others came up to embrace us: although so many demonstrations of esteem could not but be flattering, we should perhaps have been weary of them, if the love of our fellow citizens could produce that effect. On reaching Cadiz, garlands of flowers were showered from the windows, and nothing was heard but long live the Constitution, the National Army, and its Chiefs!

"General Freyre received us politely, though with coldness: he expressed his wish that we should maintain our position in the Isla, alledging as a pretext, that the entry of the troops might occasion disputes, if not bloodshed, with those of the garrison. One of the party having replied that the soldiers of the National Army were no less brave than moderate, Freyre rejoined, that he thought the men of his corps merited equal praise: this was evidently not the General's real opinion, from the anxiety he betrayed to see us return. We were about to conform to his wishes, when the report of musquetry was suddenly heard, and we immediately after perceived numbers of both sexes running towards us, demanding, with loud cries, to be shielded from the soldiery, who were firing in every direction, and cutting down all before them. To this appeal, the General very coolly answered, 'make yourselves easy, my children; there is no danger, don't be afraid!' Meanwhile, the tumult augmented, and we heard the reports nearer: as to the General, he left us, apparently with a view of putting an end to the disorder; but, so far from doing so, he authorized, in some degree, by his presence, the horrors which followed.

"Posterity will shudder at the recollection of what occurred on this fatal day, still more frightful than the 2nd May, 1808: it will judge a set of men unworthy of a noble profession, who could thus assassinate and pillage a defenceless people, associating the King's name with the extermination of his subjects: what will be said of chiefs who directed these iniquitous proceedings; men, who, in applauding the executioners, reserved their censures for the victims! Finally, will not posterity execrate the memory of those who could invite their compatriots, on pretence of celebrating a solemn act, involving the happiness of millions, merely to make them witnesses of robbery and murder?

"When the above dreadful scene commenced, we resolved to return, and were encouraged to do so by Freyre: two of the deputation ascended the roof of the house, followed by the Adjutant Sylva, who had come in our suite, and passing over adjoining terraces, found an asylum not far from the residence of the General: one of the party,* who attempted to escape through the front door, had to brave many of the assassins, whom he met at every corner: fortunately, they did not recognize him: having, with the greatest difficulty, reached the house of Villavicencio, he met Freyre and Campana there. It was in vain that our companion claimed the rights due to his character of Delegate from the National Army: they replied, by stating, that no protection could be afforded by the laws, as these were not obeyed. Thus abandoned to his fate, he sought refuge with a friend, and did not rejoin us till eleven o'clock on the following day.

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* Galiano.

"When tranquillity was somewhat restored, we discovered the place of our retreat to the Government of Cadiz, if such it could be called, and peremptorily demanded the treatment due to us as the bearer of a flag of truce: the only answer, was a file of soldiers, with drawn swords, who seized and conducted us to the Castle of San Sebastian, where each was thrown into a separate cell, deprived of communication, and otherwise treated with every species of indignity. We remained in this state of solitary confinement until the night of the 14th, when, owing to farther intelligence from Madrid, our imprisonment was changed into simple detention, preparatory, as the keepers asserted, to our being exchanged for some of the officers arrested at Las Cabezas. This must have been a mere invention, as we were soon after embarked in a small boat, and landed on the beach near San Fernando.

"Such is the faithful detail of our sufferings;

nor can we conclude without observing, that it is by comparing the conduct of the troops employed to act at Cadiz with that of the army which some persons have designated as treasonable and rebellious, the justice of our cause, and nobleness of the means adopted to defend it, can alone be duly appreciated." *

In addition to the foregoing particulars, confirmed in all respects by the accounts of others, it appears that the battalion of Guides and *Lealtad*, or Ferdinand's own, made up of deserters and galley slaves, liberated from prison, were the instruments employed on this occasion; and that, being liberally supplied with brandy, they remained shut up in their barracks, till the Square of San Antonio was completely thronged, and the ceremony of proclaiming the political code about to commence. It was then that Campana issued his orders: in another instant the work of slaughter began; rushing into the square at different points, neither sex nor age was spared; those who could not escape were butchered on the spot, nor did the foreign Consuls escape without insult and violence. The number of victims, including killed and wounded, exceeded five hundred, and would have been much greater, had not the drunken state of the perpetrators prevented their taking a more regular aim. Not content with butchering old and young, women and children, the whole of the night, and part of the next day, were devoted to plunder; nor, with the exception of those who endeavoured to allay the tumult, was a person to be seen in the streets of Cadiz, which resembled a besieged city for some days after. Owing to the measures of precaution adopted by Freyre and his associates, the murderers were transferred to Xerez in the night, and replaced by the patriotic regiment of Valançay, thus escaping the fury of the populace.

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* Old Villavicencio also drew up a report of the events on the 10th, in which he attributed the conduct of the soldiery to their excessive loyalty, treating the whole as a mere popular tumult.

Not less deeply implicated in the conspiracy than Freyre and Campana, Villavicencio, whose naval exploits never extended beyond the Bay of Cadiz, did his utmost to prevent the squadron from declaring, but in vain; as Quiroga opened a communication with it on the day of the massacre.

To judge of the share which Freyre and Campana had in this sanguinary proceeding, it is necessary merely to read the following order of the day, issued immediately after the event: and some extracts from the communications of Freyre to the Minister at War.

"GENERAL ORDER.

"Cadiz, March 11th, 1820.

"Long live the King! long live Religion! honour to the brave and loyal troops forming the garrison of Cadiz! Their fidelity, and the decided manner in which the soldiers conducted themselves yesterday, merits the gratitude of all.

the King's subjects, and that of the General who has the honour to command them.

"It is in the name of his Majesty, therefore, that I return the officers and other individuals of the garrison my warmest thanks, for their brilliant military conduct.

"(Signed) "CAMPANA."

The correspondence of Freyre appeared in the Official Gazette here, on the 21st March: his first letter will be a sufficient specimen of the whole.

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR!

"The garrison of Cadiz, ever faithful to the King, our master, has, to my great satisfaction, just given the most public and affectionate proof of the submission, fidelity, and love it entertains for his august and Royal person; drowning, with its general cry of *Long live the King!* the effervescence of the people, who, collecting and mutinying yesterday in the Square of San Antonio, cried, Long live the Constitution! In this state of things, I succeeded, by traversing the streets and squares, in restraining those loyal troops, who, enraged with the rioters, fired in all directions, and on every group, they saw, repeating nothing but the joyful cry of Live the King! At the present hour, half past three, tranquillity is, in some degree, restored; but I will still continue to make every exertion to re-establish order and discipline.

"With this courier, I send instructions to Seville, in order that it may follow the noble and just example set here; having already dispatched officers in various directions to give it publicity. Two of my aides-du-camp have gone to the army for the same purpose.

"Although I have not received answers to the letters and orders which I dispatched, I do not like to lose any time in depriving his Majesty of such pleasing and satisfactory intelligence; but when tranquillity is effectually restored, I will transmit all the details to your Excellency.

"Your Excellency will be pleased to make these circumstances known to his Majesty, assuring him of the fidelity of the troops, and that we only aspire to defend his rights, and secure tranquillity and order. God preserve your Excellency many years. (Signed) "MANUEL FREYRE."

"Head Quarters, Madrid, March 10th, 1820."

It is unnecessary to point out the false and equivocating tone of the above extraordinary communication, evidently written on the 11th, though dated on the day of the massacre. In a letter of the 14th, Freyre tells the Minister that he has been all day tranquillizing the perturbed spirit of the officers and men, who still continued to doubt the authenticity of the decrees published here on the 6th and 7th, declaring the King's adhesion, and convoking the Cortes: yet had these been circulated by Freyre himself, and posted up round the town for several days before! Further on he says, " though I have not sent the decrees in question to Quiroga or Riego, I will do so the moment the divisions of the army are convinced it is the sovereign will that this should be the case, taking care to give an account of it to your Excellency, for the Government, and information of his Majesty." Alluding to the movement of O'Donnel, he observes, "as General Count Abisbal seems to be directing his way towards this province, I have caused the first division of the army to march, for the purpose of counteracting his projects. This shall continue until I know whether it is conformable to the wishes of the King, our master; if otherwise, I will treat him as a rebel."

Without dwelling on the conduct of Campana and Freyre, which implies guilt of the most palpable and premeditated description, throughout this atrocious and melancholy affair, the remarkable fact, that, in addition to his being suffered to remain so long at large, not one of the letters transmitted from the Court, in reply to Freyre, contained a disapproval of the proceedings, confirms the opinion universally entertained, of his crime being deeply participated in by others.

The similarity between the Cadiz massacre and an event which occurred in another country six months before, is so striking, as to have induced a belief that it was suggested by the latter: people moreover add, that the Serviles of Spain were greatly encouraged by the impunity which attended the actors in the first memorable transaction. However improbable these conjectures may be, the subject is certainly worthy of attention; for if, as experience furnishes but too many proofs, crime be contagious amongst the members of a single community, why, according to the doctrine of analogies, which is susceptible of such extensive application, should not an act of unprecedented violence left unpunished in one country produce a corresponding effect in other states? History would cease to be instructive were these singular coincidences suffered to pass unnoticed.

It is needless to say that neither confidence nor tranquillity were established at Cadiz, till the removal of those who had destroyed both one and the other. This event took place on the 17th, when Freyre was replaced by General O'Donoju, while Don Cayetano Valdes, and Francisco de Jauregui succeeded Campana and Rodriguez, the King's Lieutenant.

The first care of the new Captain-General was, to make all the compensation in his power to the outraged patriots and inhabitants, by causing the Constitution to be proclaimed in a way more becoming the importance of the subject. To prevent the possibility of interruption, it was arranged that no person should appear armed, within the walls of Cadiz, during the ceremony. This was performed on the 20th, at noon, in the presence of the national army, which, led by Quiroga, Riego* and the staff, made its triumphal entry that morning. After the civil and military authorities were sworn, they proceeded to the Cathedral, followed by the whole population; here, Te Deum was sung, and a solemn thanksgiving offered up to Almighty God,' for the consummation of their wishes.

Pursuant to orders received on his appointment, that a rigorous inquiry should be forthwith instituted, relative to the late outrage, Freyre and his coadjutors were arrested and sent to the prisons of La Caraca, from which Calderon and his staff were liberated on the 20th: the culprits are still confined, and till overtaken by the too tardy sentence of the law, suffer under the awful anathema of public opinion.

The rising in Galicia and Navarre was almost simultaneous: Mina, who had eluded the vigilance of spies and informers, employed to watch his movements in France, left Paris early in February, and entering the valley of Bastan, on the 25th, found a numerous band of Patriots ready to receive him. His proclamation, dated on the 2nd March, besides declaring in favour of the Constitution, and Cortes, contained an energetic appeal to his former companions in arms, who were now called upon to join the standard of freedom, and imitate the heroic resolution of the National Army.

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* The hero of Las Cabezas, accompanied by his able second in command, Evaristo de San Miguel, reached the Isla just in time to witness the final triumph of their companions.

At Corunna, the garrison and inhabitants, headed by Don Carlos Espinosa, a colonel of artillery, rose on the 21th February, placed the Captain-General, and some other authorities, under arrest; after which the code was proclaimed, and those who had been shut up for political offences liberated.* The conduct of Espinosa on this and all other occasions has raised him to an envied height amongst the Spanish Patriots. Having completed the insurrectionary movement, he was unanimously chosen to command the Galician army: a stranger to personal ambition, and actuated only by his zeal for the public good, Espinosa declined the proffered honour, on condition that it might be conferred on one whose services and talents rendered him more worthy of the office. He then named Feliz Acevedo, an officer of distinguished merit, who had partaken of the persecutions of 1814, and had lived in retirement ever since that year. The motives urged in favour of this nomination, being admitted, Acevedo came forth, and though hitherto unknown, soon proved himself equal to the task, fully justifying the disinterested recommendation of his friend.

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* Several of the officers concerned in Porlier's affair regained their liberty on this occasion. Munoz Torrero, an eloquent member of the Cortes, and Don Manuel Acuna, a canon of Santiago, were also amongst the prisoners liberated in Galicia.

A Junta of the principal inhabitants, with Don Pedro Agar, the former Regent, as President, being installed, the General-in-chief departed, at the head of a flying column, to proclaim the Constitution throughout the province. This was effected at Santiago on the 24th, and at Orense the following day: although opposed by San Roman, a blustering Servile, entrusted with the military command in Galicia, the progress of Acevedo was triumphant, till the 9th of March, when he fell a victim to his intrepidity and misplaced confidence in a party of provincial militia, posted in the vicinity of a small town, called Padernalo. Unsuspicious of the treachery which was about to deprive Spain of his services, the Patriot chief advanced alone, and unarmed, to stay the flight of the enemy, calling upon the fugitives to join their brethren, and no longer serve as the blind instruments of selfishness and ambition. His address was scarcely ended, when some of the party, concealed behind a thicket, fired on the general, who fell mortally wounded. The assassins came forward, and were plundering their victim, but perceiving the patriots coming up, they fled, closely pursued by the Staff, and several rank and file of the column. The last words of Acevedo were devoted to his country: he was found still breathing, and had even strength enough to tell those who remained to soothe his dying moments: "go on my friends, never mind my fate; let the national liberty be your watch-word!'

The command having once more devolved on the gallant Espinosa, he drove San Roman and his adherents into Castile: a despatch came from the Servile leader, on the 12th, announcing the events at Madrid, and inviting the Patriots to swear to the Constitution; in order, as he said, that the wishes of His Majesty should be carried into effect! Although the bombastic communication of this modern Quixote was treated with the contempt it deserved, Espinosa did not omit the ceremony of swearing, or that of causing Te Deum to be sung. Transferring his head-quarters to Lugo on the 25th, the garrison were drawn up to receive the liberating army: a general review of the troops took place next day; after which, proclaiming the political code, and the performance of a solemn church service, followed by the usual rejoicings, terminated the revolution of Galicia.

The body of Acevedo, disinterred from the spot in which it had been deposited after his assassination, was conveyed to Corunna, where it received the honours of a public funeral, and general mourning. Like Porlier, too, the statue of Feliz Acevedo will also ornament the national pantheon.

Although Mina did not enter Pamplona before the 11th March, his presence in the neighbourhood, with a considerable force, obliged the

Captain-General, Espeleta, to open the gates much sooner than he had intended: a staunch partizan of the court, and surrounded by Priests, Espeleta betrayed the greatest unwillingness to embrace the constitutional system. The establishment of liberty in Navarre was celebrated by a series of festivities, and the liberation of many state prisoners; amongst whom was the celebrated Quintana, whose writings have done so much towards enlightening his countrymen.

The garrison of Zaragoza had risen and proclaimed the constitution on the 5th, without committing the slightest excess. An eloquent statement of the event was addressed to Ferdinand by the provincial Junta. This important paper also contained a true, though lamentable, picture of the wretched condition to which Spain was reduced under the late government, and is justly regarded as one of the most valuable historical documents of the day.

The people of Catalonia began to assemble, and declare themselves, the moment they heard of what had occurred in Aragon. Castanos, who had been suffered to occupy the place of Captain-General since Lacy's death, vainly endeavoured to check the popular feeling at Barcelona: as the means adopted for this purpose, that of arming the dregs of society, might lead to scenes of violence, which the constitutionalists had determined to avoid, a large party of the latter, uniting themselves to the garrison, sallied forth, and proclaimed the code at Tarragona, Reus and several other towns. Meanwhile, the orders from Madrid reached Castanos, and were soon followed by the arrival of General Villacampa, who assumed the command, causing the constitution to be promulgated on the 12th. Driven from Barcelona by the people, Castanos came to Madrid, and notwithstanding the events of 1817, and his recent conduct, he has contrived to get himself appointed a Counsellor of State. With respect to Villacampa, his demeanour was in this, as in every former act of his civil and military career, entitled to the utmost praise, and found its reward in the approbation of his fellow citizens.

The inhabitants of Carthagena, Valencia, Murcia and Granada, animated by a similar spirit to those of Catalonia, declared in favour of freedom nearly on the same day. When Elio received the Minister's circular, he mounted his horse, and rode to the town-hall, whence, an immediate summons was sent to the Municipal body. Affecting the most ardent zeal in favour of freedom, the executioner of Vidal, young Beltran de Lis, and their companions, was about to proclaim the charter, when the people, who had by this time collected in great numbers, unanimously declared they would rather continue slaves than receive liberty from such contaminated hands! The past atrocities of Elio next rushed across every mind; unable to repress the indignation excited by a recollection of his barbarous conduct, he must have fallen a sacrifice to popular fury, were it not for the interposition of Count Almodovar; who being called upon, by the people, to exercise the functions of Captain-General till the King's pleasure should be known, insisted on their sparing the life of Elio; thus proving that there was no sacrifice of resentment and personal feeling they were not prepared to make in favour of liberty. Being conducted to his house, by a strong guard, the obnoxious General was removed to the Citadel, where he stilll remains, brooding over the innumerable sorrows which his former conduct has brought on Spain; and like the criminals of Cadiz, given up to the execration of mankind.

Eguia, a name scarcely less notorious that Elio, did all he could, as Captain-General of Granada, to impede the march of freedom: filling the prisons with victims, and encouraging the troops to make common cause with the servile faction; but being, at length, instructed to follow the example of others, he had not quite so much faith in the forbearance of the multitude as the *hero* of Valencia, and therefore wisely absconded; leaving the care of proclaiming the constitution to his second in command.

Having noticed some of those circumstances which marked the transition from slavery to freedom, in the Provinces, it remains for me to add a few facts relative to what took place in the capital previous to the adhesion of Ferdinand.

There is probably no period of despotism so interesting to the philosophic observer, as that in which its supporters are called upon to defend their unnatural power, against an irritated and suffering people: certainly none, from which the friends of humanity can draw more useful lessons. When, as in Spain, the insolence and pride which attended the desolating triumph of oppression, are contrasted with the pusillanimity and weakness that pervaded the councils of Ferdinand, after the news from Andalusia had arrived, a consoling inference may be drawn. Surely, when the undaunted and persevering conduct of the patriots, following up their purpose, amidst the most formidable difficulties, physical and moral, is compared to the vacillating measures of the Court, alternately wavering between its anxiety to crush the insurrection by force, and endeavouring to deceive the national army by false promises of reform, there are powerful motives for hope and encouragement on the part of those, who may, in other times, be constrained to wrench their liberties from the grasp of an exploded and inexorable faction.

It would have been in direct contradiction to the system invariably pursued, since the establishment of feudal institutions, if, instead of violence and coercion, conciliation and concession had been adopted, on this occasion. With the public opinion of Europe, and the blood of so many martyred patriots rising up in judgment against them, what but vice and obstinacy, carried to their utmost extent, could induce the ministers and favourites of Ferdinand to attempt prolonging the reign of terror, under such circumstances? That the present insurrection created more alarm than any former effort of the soldiery, need not be matter of surprise, considering the resolute character of its leaders, and the method displayed in their proceedings. If the assemblage of councils, marching troops in various directions, and dispatching couriers to the members of the holy alliance, could allay the spirit of resistance, then, indeed, might the faction hope for relief; but, as before observed, their measures only increased the exertions of the national army, while they proved that no change for the better was to be effected except through the means now chosen.

Don Carlos and Lozano de Torres, ex-minister of justice, but who had retained his influence at court, were associated to the ministry; and Elio came from Valencia, to offer his services. Such being the auxiliaries first called in, it is hardly necessary to enumerate those who afterwards flocked round the throne, while the members of the Camarilla and Government* were hurried from one absurdity to another, without sufficient firmness to persevere in any, or virtue to adopt the only efficient remedy. Their pernicious counsels were opposed by men who partook the sentiments, and shared the enthusiasm shown at San Fernando: amongst these, Don Francisco de Paulo, Ballesteros, and those who subsequently formed the provisional Junta, were most conspicuous. Nor was the garrison long in manifesting its sympathy. Having, with that candour which is always due to the interests of truth, alluded to the former doubts excited by the conduct of Count Abisbal, it is peculiary gratifying to be so soon enabled to introduce the name of this officer, only as a subject of panegyric and congratulation.

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* The following is a list of the Ministers when the insurrection broke out:—Duke de San Fernando, Foreign Affairs; Mata Florida, Grace and Justice; Alos, War Department: Cisneros, Marine and Colonies; Salmon, Finances; Infantado, Alagon and Ugarte formed part of the secret Council or Camarilla, and were supported by Ben Como, the Confessor; Ramirez, the King's Valet; and Vargas, Treasurer of the Household.

O'Donnel had remained here to observe the progress of events; exhibiting another proof of what a thankless office it is to serve a corrupt court: neglected by those, to serve whom he had sacrificed his reputation, and condemned by the people, he might have spent the remainder of his life in deploring the unfortunate occurrence at Palmar, had not the ministers imagined that, by flattering his love of power, the friend whom they had discarded, when no longer in want of his services, would again be induced to aid in preventing the tottering edifice of tyranny from falling, was, therefore, invested with the chief command in La Mancha, and directed to prepare a central army, in the interest of the ruling faction: —but it was too late;—the period of self-delusion, if it ever existed, had passed away; the general could not forget the treatment of men who could thus trifle with their benefactor; he had, besides, felt the corroding pangs of lost popularity: rather the victim of error than ambition, and satisfied that the nation was, at length, ripe for reform, he resolved not to miss the present felicitous conjuncture. The first use Abisbal made of his new appointment, was to establish an understanding with the colonels of Regiments stationed here; and when assured of their readiness to co-operate in his design, he quitted Madrid on the 3rd March, for Ocaña,* where his brother Alexander commanded a battalion of infantry. Reaching that place on the afternoon of the following day, the Constitution was proclaimed and immediate steps taken for opening a communication with Riego's column and the army of La Isla.† When this event was known here, it created such a sensation, as left the Court no alternative between acquiescing in the wishes of the people, or incurring their resentment. Ballesteros therefore waited on the King, to undeceive him, by describing the real state of things, and ended the audience, by informing His Majesty, that the government could not calculate on the obedience of a single regiment. This being fully confirmed by the accounts hourly arriving from the provinces, Ferdinand yielded to the empire of necessity, and consented to sign a decree, in which he promised to accept the political code of 1812, and convoke the Cortes. The period of believing in promises, having, however, gone by, and suspecting that the party who had hitherto enjoyed the royal confidence, only wanted to gain time, the populace and soldiery took the alarm, assembled before the Municipality, and elected a Corporation of the most distinguished citizens: they then proceeded to the Palace, and called aloud for the King. This appeal being made in such a way, that it could not be resisted, Ferdinand appeared at a balcony, with a copy of the Constitution in his hand, and holding it up, signified his readiness to conform to the assurances he had given on the preceding day.* Next to his reception in the Hall of Cortes, on the 9th July, this must have been the proudest day of Ferdinand's life. Orders being immediately issued to execute the desire of the populace, relative to naming a junta of government, liberation of state prisoners, abolishing the holy office, and various other establishments connected with the late system, the people withdrew, exclaiming, "long live Ferdinand! long live the Constitutional Monarch!".

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* This place was to be the head quarters of the army of La Mancha; it is about 9 leagues from Madrid, on the road to Andalusia.

† Although Abisbal has not yet regained the entire confidence of the patriots, all are willing to acknowledge the importance of the service he rendered at Ocana. Having discovered that there is no glory equal to what men acquire, by adding to the liberties of their country, it is not likely the Count will ever swerve from the path he has now chosen, much less exchange the self-satisfaction and tranquillity of mind, caused by a consciousness of having performed his duty, for the precarious smiles of a court and the dangerous possession of power.

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* The efforts of Don Francisco de Paulo to remove the hesitation betrayed by Ferdinand, while the tranquillity of Madrid was threatened, were seconded by those of the Queen and the two Princesses, her sisters-in-law. An attendant of Her Majesty has informed me, that she implored Ferdinand with tears, to come forward, a few moments before he appeared at the balcony.

From the palace, the crowd hastened to the Inquisition, destroyed the instruments of torture, and placing the prisoners in an open car, bore them in triumph through the principal streets. The night closed with a spontaneous and general illumination. On the next day, Ballesteros was charged with the pleasing office of visiting the prisons, and restoring their haggard inmates, confined for political offences, to liberty and light.

The members of the Provisional Junta* and other authorities, having repaired to the palace, early on the 9th, the oath of adhesion was admin-

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Surely the sex never appear so lovely, as when pleading in favour of liberty! Had no other causes operated, the tears of these fascinating women would have been irresistible!

* The venerable Cardinal de Bourbon, whom Ferdinand had treated so ill, in 1814, was placed at the head of this Junta, assisted by Ballesteros, as Vice President: Don Manuel Abad y Queypo, Bishop of Mechoacan, another of the members, was amongst those who most distinguished themselves, for their opposition to the Servile faction, during the reign of terror.

istered to Ferdinand and his brothers: the household troops and garrison were drawn out on the Prado for a similar purpose on the 10th, and swore fidelity to the code amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of both sexes; after which, the whole of the troops passed in review before the royal family.

Besides the decrees for abolishing the Inquisition, and regulating the liberty of the press, two proclamations were published; the first, bearing the King's signature, explained his reasons for adopting the fatal system of 1814, on the plea that it was recommended to him as the most popular! repeating the fact of his own adhesion, his subjects were congratulated on the event: this address concludes with the following remarkable sentence; "Let us march frankly, and myself the first, in the constitutional path, by showing an example of wisdom, order and moderation, in a crisis, which has been accompanied with so many tears and sorrows in other countries: let us make the Spanish name revered, at the same time that we lay the foundation for ages of happiness and glory." —That of the provisional government, contained equally good advice, and not less applicable to Spain, than to other nations: "The establishment of a new system, on the ruins of that which has fallen," say the Junta, "is the most arduous and difficult task imaginable; requiring all the resources of the human mind: one, in fact, which brings every social virtue into action. The history of former revolutions, and especially that of France, ought to make you cautious, and temper your impatience, since it tells you, that those changes, which precipitation and imprudence seek to bring about in a day, may be mourned for ages; and, on the contrary, that the steady and tranquil formation of new institutions, secures liberty, without producing ruin and desolation. The results, in one, may be compared to the sudden inundation of an overwhelming torrent, which devastates all before it, while in the other, it is like the majestic and beneficent swelling of the Nile, nourishing and enriching the soil, but destroying nothing."

While the decrees of Ferdinand related to some salutary reform, or the suppression of useless officers, those of the Provisional Junta and Municipal body, were devoted to instructing the people, turning aside their resentments, and calming their passions. After nominating a council of state, to act till the meeting of Cortes, it next remained to appoint a new Ministry: these were selected from the patriots of 1812, men, who had by their services and sufferings, acquired the esteem and sympathy of the nation. As a natural consequence of these changes, the Persas were removed from all places of trust, and, together with the ex-ministers and court favourites, left to the scorn of that people whom they had first betrayed, and then co-operated to oppress.

Amongst those who came to congratulate Ferdinand on his adhesion, the deputations from the

Junta of Government and army of San Fernando, were received with the most lively enthusiasm by the inhabitants, whose gratitude to the saviours of their country, was expressed by a triumphal entry and procession round the capital; after which, Arco Aguero was presented to the King, whom he addressed in an appropriate speech, assuring His Majesty of those sentiments of loyalty which animated the national army, and concluded by declining for himself and the chiefs, the rank of general and orders of knighthood, His Majesty had been pleased to confer on them; alleging that they had only performed their duty, and were therefore ambitious of no other reward, than the approbation of their own conscience, and the esteem of their countrymen! Colonel Infantes and Evaristo de San Miguel, had already been charged to explain the motives which induced the army to raise the standard of freedom, and presented a detailed account of its operations to the King: the arrival of these officers was celebrated by a public dinner.

The formation of patriotic societies here, and in the provinces, afforded those who took no part in the administration the means of expressing their sentiments, and had an excellent effect in suggesting useful hints to government, as well as teaching the people how to appreciate their newly acquired rights. Neither the calumnies nor falsehoods circulated with regard to these associations, have removed the impressions of their utility, in consolidating and maintaining the constitutional system. .

Those foreigners who happened to be at Madrid when the late happy change occurred, describe it as being quite talismanic; that intercourse which had been so long checked, by the united efforts of despotism and religious restraint, once removed, society resumed its natural tone; instead of the dead silence which had hitherto pervaded the streets, nothing was seen but cheerful faces, and groups at every corner, busied in discussing passing events, or congratulating each other on the return of liberty. Not a day passed without the celebration of some circumstance connected with their emancipation; serenades and concerts enlivened the streets at night, while the theatres were thronged, to witness productions, which either retraced the past glories of Spain, or pourtrayed its present happiness.

There was but one solitary class that appeared dull, in the midst of this gratifying scene. Though the liberal portion of the Priesthood entered freely into the sentiments of the people, stimulating them to espouse the cause of freedom, with becoming zeal,* others found only a source of dejection in the general joy. It would have been well, had this discontent at seeing others happy been confined to the solitude of their cloisters; but, taking a wider range, it was vented in an attempt to get up a conspiracy. As usual, excessive piety, and a conviction that the change would bring down the vengeance of heaven, was the pretext for tampering with the soldiery, some of whom were even bribed to aid in the projected treason. Denounced by the very men they sought to corrupt, an inquiry was instituted to punish the aggressors; but, fortunately for these, though proved to be guilty, the more important concerns of government, no less than its determination to follow the example of forbearance shown by the people, caused the names of the reverend fathers, and their follies, to be forgotten.

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* The Cardinal de Bourbon published a pastoral letter, full of the most praiseworthy sentiments, exhorting the ministers of religion to conform to the new system, and his example was followed in most of the provinces.

Having thus witnessed the peaceful establishment of liberty in the Peninsula, another important and delicate task remained for the Constitutional government; that of prevailing on the independent states of South America to recognize the Royal authority, and send deputies to the approaching Cortes. The proclamation on this subject, addressed to the inhabitants of the new world, appeared in May: this state paper deserves to be considered rather as expressing the wishes of a party, than a specimen of good reasoning or sound logic. Those ties which had bound the colonies to the mother country, were torn asunder, by ten years of sanguinary warfare, and could not be renewed on the mere invitation of a public address. If instead of the specious motives held out for returning to subjection, it had been left optional with the Independents, either to submit, or treat on terms of reciprocity, advantages would have been procured, which it will now be impossible to obtain; while it would have proved that, having conquered their own liberties, the people of Spain knew how to respect those of others.

The decree for convoking the Cortes, published on the day of Ferdinand's adhesion, was followed by preparations for the election of Representatives, who were chosen soon after. Most of the members had reached this by the end of June, and when I arrived here, were anxiously waiting for the august ceremony described in my first letter.

Events being thus brought up to the time when my account commenced, it is left for your own candour to say whether, the lamentable series of errors and crimes which I have endeavoured to expose, ought to be attributed to the faults of the people, or the excesses of their rulers; nor can I conclude without calling your attention to the moderation with which the soldiers and citizens executed the task they were called to perform, and the unexampled clemency shown to their oppressors in the hour of victory. A vast field of conjecture is presented by the phenomenon of a people, having such multiplied causes of complaint, passing from the extremes of tyranny to those of freedom, without a single act of violence;

it is doubly interesting at a time, when society has probably reached a period, in which it remains to be proved, whether the human mind is really susceptible of those ameliorations, and that advance towards perfectibility, which has been invoked, if not promised, by the most virtuous and enlightened men of all ages.

If the horrors which sullied the revolution of 1789, had inspired a dread of innovation in matters of government, justifying, in some measure, those calumnies which the enemies of reform have laboured to circulate; that of 1820 has left nothing to desire by the friends of freedom, and will always serve as a triumphant reply to its most inveterate detractors. It was reserved for the Spanish army and people to solve a problem, hitherto regarded as impracticable, by those who wished to perpetuate the evils of tyranny and oppression. The revolution of 1820 is, in fact, one of the sublimest instances of forbearance, magnanimity and self-denial, that history will have to record; and, as such, what language can describe the merit of the actors, or how is it possible sufficiently to reward them for the interminable blessings they have conferred on civilization!

LETTER XII.

Religion.—Necessity of Reform in Manners.—Allusion to other Writers.—Dr. Robinson, de la Borde, and Llorente.—Labours of the latter:—his Critical History.—Debates on the Holy Office in the Cortes of 1812:—its Abolition.—Introduction of Christianity.—Merit of its Founders.—Persecutions of the Church.—Change effected by the conversion of Constantine.—Celibacy.—Demoralized State of the Clergy in the middle Ages.—Religious Reformers.—Establishment of the Holy Office.—Persecution of the Albigenses.—St. Dominic and Gregory IX.—Persecution of the Moors and Jews.—Ferdinand V.—Pious IV. and Torquemada.—Inquisition of Spain new modelled.—Its first operations.—People and Cortes exonerated.—Charles V. Efforts to reform the Holy Office in his reign.—Persecutions in the Sixteenth Century.—Progress of Lutheranism.—Auto de Fe at Valladolid in 1599.—Case of Eleanora Vibero.—Auto de Fe at Seville.—Story of Maria Bohorques, and her sister Juana.—Persecution of Englishmen.—Anecdotes.—Auto de Fe at Logrono, in 1610.—Moratin.—A Reflection.—Grand Auto de Fe at Madrid in 1680.—Charles II. and his Family are present.—Analysis of *La Relacion Historica*.—Preparations, Processions and Sermon:—Ceremony of Burning.—Articles of Faith.—Minor Auto de Fe, performed in October of the same year:—victims who suffered.

Madrid, October, 1820.

The object of my visit to the Peninsula would be unaccomplished, were not the foregoing sketch of political events to be followed by a few remarks on the state of religion, manners and literature; more especially, as it is in the influence of these, that you can best trace the origin and progress of the calamities which have afflicted this country, during the last three hundred years. As the regeneration so happily effected in politics, would be comparatively useless, without a reform in those abuses of another kind, which have been so long accumulating here, it is doubly incumbent on the friends of humanity to state any facts or opinions, likely to elucidate a matter of such vital importance, not only to Spain, but to the whole civilized world.

Religion is so interwoven with all the habits of the Spanish people, that the traveller cannot well turn aside his attention from the subject, much less refrain from observing its effects on the civil and political institutions; but, above all, on the state of morals. Coming here with a view of ascertaining the real situation of Spain, I soon perceived that no greater service could be rendered to the nation, than aiding to expose the sources of its past misfortunes; so that, had not others, still more competent to the task, already torn aside the veil which had so long concealed the truth, I should have ventured to do so myself. Guided by the ministers of that very faith, upon which I am about to offer a few desultory remarks, I ought to escape the odium too frequently attached to the best motives; while my statements must acquire additional weight, when supported by such incontrovertible authorities.

It has been truly observed, that, while the details connected with war and conquest have found innumerable chroniclers, and been related, even to satiety, the philosophical history of Spain has, till very lately, been left almost unnoticed. Various reasons might be assigned for this circumstance: amongst others, the impossibility of native writers touching on the subject; while foreigners, if we except Dr. Robertson and La Borde, have been more intent on signalizing abuses, than tracing their causes. It is true, the most distinguished ornaments of Spanish literature and learning, have been persecuted for their principles, and opposition to the prevailing errors; but, so many obstacles combined to prevent them from giving publicity to their opinions, that, without the enterprise of Napoleon, in 1808, it is difficult to say when Europe would have been made acquainted with the dreadful secrets of the prison-house here.

Reserving the precious materials collected by the industry of twenty years, for the decree of Chamartin, which abolished the inquisition as dangerous to temporal sovereignty, M. Llorente commenced his career in the Spanish academy of history, soon after, with a memoir, in which the people of Spain were vindicated from the charge of having countenanced the Inquisition, and a variety of facts stated, relative to the rise, progress and policy of the Holy Office, on the authority of documents found in its archives. This work was followed by his annals, published in 1812: these have been since enlarged, and now form his Critical History of the *Sacred Tribunal;* than which, a more appalling picture of human depravity, it is impossible to conceive. Having been the first to call the attention of his country to this momentous subject, after the arrival of the French armies, the statements of the author were strengthened and corroborated by the luminous debates which took place in the Cortes of 1812, and which terminated in February of the following year, by the abolition of the Holy Office, as incompatible with the Constitution.*

In contemplating the horrors which mark the proceedings of the Holy Office, from its commencement, we are irresistibly led back to that period of ignorance and obstinacy, which prompted the founders of Christianity to establish a system of faith and morals, derived from the practice of virtue and reciprocal good-will, to the exclusion of one, built upon selfishness, intolerance and error. This was unquestionably one of the most sublime conceptions which could enter the mind of men bred in the midst of such corruption and pertinacity combined. The demeanour of Christ and his disciples fully corresponded with their divine mission: pious, humble and resigned, full of charity and benevolence to all mankind, they both practised and preached a system of morality in perfect unison with those inestimable virtues. Although the apostles were too good judges of human nature not to know that false prophets and false teachers would appear in after times, what would they have said if told, that in little more than three centuries, the self-denial, contempt of worldly riches, and abnegation of temporal power, which they so strenuously recommended to the ministers of the new religion, would be transformed into a series of debauchery, avarice and oppression! Who would believe that, after being themselves exposed to so much persecution, previous to the conversion of Constantine, (A. D. 306) the leaders of Christianity should henceforward become the most cruel, intolerant, and bigotted sectarians that ever existed! Who could have imagined that men, having the virtues and precepts of the Redeemer fresh in their recollection, would so effectually distort all his commandments into mere love of gain and personal ambition?

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* These memorable debates form a large volume, and besides their historical interest, present some of the best specimens of Spanish parliamentary eloquence extant. The report of the commission was most ably drawn up by Munoz Torrero, Agustin Arguelles, Espiga, Mendiola, Jauregui and Oliveros: these, together with Garcia Hereros, Ruiz Padron, Count Torreno, Villanueva and O'Gavan, were the principal speakers in favour of the abolition; while the bishops, Inguanzo, and Ximenez, Ostolaza, Llaneras, Riesco and the Bishop of Calahorra, did all they could to preserve the Inquisition, and prove its utility! The most remarkable effort on this side, was made by Riesco; in which, after giving an history of the Holy Office, and calling the question at issue a contention between Jesus Christ and Napoleon, he concludes by declaring its re-establishment indispensable, claimed by the prelates of the holy mother church, and by all good Spaniards!

Although the ignorance of the multitude enabled the christian hierarchy to establish its dominion in the fourth century, the members of the church have no such plea for their justification:

as depositaries of classical learning, and bound by the most solemn vows to walk in the path so clearly traced out for them by their divine master, a total indifference to virtue, as well as religion, could alone have led to the multifarious excesses of this degenerate epoch. It is awful and melancholy to reflect that, from the end of the eleventh century, when Gregory VII. renewed his decretal relative to the celibacy of the priesthood, thus making the ministers of religion an exclusive cast, and cutting them off from all the social ties, up to 1478, the time chosen by Sixtus IV. for remodelling the Inquisition in Spain, the history of the church presents little more than one uninterrupted scene of vice, bigotry and persecution.*

It would, in fact, be a sacrilege of the most wanton kind, to confound the pure and immaculate doctrines of Jesus, with that of the Popes and their adherents of the middle ages; nor would it be a less cruel calumny to attribute the relaxation of manners, and proneness to crime, so prevalent in after times, to the people, who have been throughout, either the victims or dupes of their teachers. If the more minute elucidation of the foregoing general remarks entered into my plan, it would be easy to corroborate them by the concurrent testimony of various writers, from Tertullian and Justin down to Gregoire and Llorente; men who could have no motive for disfiguring the truth, as they belonged to that sacred profession, which it was the business of their lives to reform. The insidious arts, by which property to such an incalculable amount was extracted from the fears or weakness of penitents; the vows of chastity, while those who made them rioted in luxury and concubinage; the ascendancy acquired over the minds of princes, scarcely less ignorant than their subjects, till the whole power of Europe, both temporal and spiritual, was concentered in the church, would form at once the most instructive and important history ever compiled. Nor is there a crime in the long catalogue of human vices that such a work would not disclose. If this assertion be borne out by unanswerable facts, can it be matter of wonder that the present generation is demoralized? It is, doubtless, from a deep conviction of existing evils, and that there are but slender hopes of permanent improvement in the political condition of society, while these evils continue to corrode the social body, that the clerical reformers of our day are so earnest in their endeavours to bring back christianity to the purity of its pristine principles and practice.

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* In treating the subject of celibacy in Sicily, I had occasion to notice the fact, of this being purely a matter of church discipline, introduced long after the establishment of Christianity. The question is now taken up by a much more able hand, M. Llorente, in his plan of a religious constitution, for a free and independent nation. The tenth chapter relates to celibacy, and is full of interesting data, proving to demonstration, what must occur to all who read the New Testament, that the celibacy of the clergy was never enjoined by Christ or his Apostles.

Without recapitulating the names of those ecclesiastics, of whatever sect, who have opposed the encroachments of priestcraft, and exposed its vices, I cannot help saying that they are entitled to the eternal gratitude of mankind, and surely the time has arrived when it becomes the duty of every man to re-echo their complaints!

These preliminary observations cannot be better illustrated, than by offering a few facts relative to that tribunal of blood, which the servile faction of Spain restored in 1814, and the abolition of which is still a subject of deep regret with thousands in and out of the Peninsula.

Although the unjust power of punishing for heresy, and to obtain proselytes, commenced early in the seventh century, when Isidorus produced those false decretals, which were the pretexts for increasing the Papal supremacy to such an extent,* there are no traces of an inquisition, previous to the council of Verona, in 1184, when all the members of the Christian community were bound by pain of excommunication and loss of property, to denounce heretics, and aid in their extirpation. This was followed by another assemblage, held at

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* The deliberations of the fourth Council of Toledo, held in 655, at which St. Isidorus, Archbishop of Seville, presided, were principally directed against the Jews, having begun by merely handing the members of this sect over to the Bishops, every succeeding council made some new enactment with regard to their punishment, till that of burning was adopted.

Lerida, ten years afterwards; here Alphonso of Aragon, whose authority extended beyond the Pyrenees, freely lent himself to the wishes of the Pope's Legate, issuing new decrees against the Vaudois and other inhabitants of the south, who sought a livelihood amongst the more fertile provinces of Gascony. The successful resistance of the Albigeois, in the Narbonensis, having rendered stronger measures necessary, Innocent III. appointed a commission for the express purpose of pursuing heretics. Philip II. of France, was invited to second the design, and he did so the more readily, from the invitation being accompanied with a brief, authorizing him to seize the goods and chattels of all those who should be found to favour those heretics.

The persecution of the ill-fated Albigeois was succeeded by an infuriate war, and the preaching of a crusade, offering large rewards to whoever marched against them, and punishing those who refused. "It is difficult," says Llorente, "to determine the number of those who suffered in the flames from 1202, when the Holy Office commenced, and during the two following centuries; but we cannot help being deeply affected, on reading the historians of those days, who relate the tragic end of many millions, amongst the most cruel torments, as the triumphs of a religion, on which its divine founder impressed the qualities of mildness, charity, benevolence and mercy!"

The exertions of Dominic, a monk, in establishing the secret tribunal, and preparing noviciates to direct it in other places, were rewarded with the honours of canonization. Honorius III. the successor of Innocent, was no less zealous in the pious work of persecution. It was in the reign of this Pontiff, and in 1216, that the blessings of the Holy Office were transplanted to Italy. Previous to the death of Honorius, his Holiness caused a corps to be organized, on the model of the Knights Templar, so famous in the Crusades of Palestine; this was called the Militia of Christ, and its services exclusively devoted to the oppression of the Albigeois.

Gregory IX. made considerable improvements in the establishment, and emulated his predecessors in fulminating decrees against heretics. Having brought it to some degree of perfection in France and Italy, Gregory established the Inquisition here, in 1232; from this period down to the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, the inquisitors of Spain took the lead in tormenting for matters of opinion.

Those who have most attentively studied the subject, do not hesitate to attribute the persecutions directed against the Moors and Jews more to avarice and a love of plunder than zeal in the cause of religion; unable to rival them in wealth, and unwilling to imitate their industry, the monkish orders were ever ready to foment those jealousies, which must always arise between opposite sects whose members are mere instruments in the hands of the designing. Hence the massacres in Castile and Navarre, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century; as these left no alternative between flight and conversion, thousands of families chose the former, and passed into other countries; enough, however, remained to excite the cupidity of the christian teachers; so that all those who did not depart were marked out for spoliation and punishment. It must be confessed that this was a poor return to those who had brought the treasure of Arabic literature, science, commerce and the useful arts into Spain.

Ferdinand V. having made common cause with Pius IV. and the priesthood; Philip de Barberis, grand Inquisitor of Sicily, together with several other emissaries, being sent to arrange matters, while that Monarch and his Queen were at Seville, in 1478, the Holy Office was newly organized. A more inveterate and methodical system of persecution may be dated from this period; and whatever those interested in propagating falsehood have said to the contrary, it is to the measures of Torquemada and his successors, aided by the Jesuits, whose iniquities have also been perpetrated in the sacred name of Christ, that we are chiefly to attribute the moral and political degradation of Spain; not to mention the train of crimes which has marked their sanguinary proceedings.

The establishment of the Holy Office, just as Spain had attained such pre-eminence amongst the nations of Europe, and when Columbus had placed a new world at the feet of her monarchs, was followed by consequences no less fatal to the real interests of religion, than injurious to national prosperity; which, notwithstanding the unrivalled advantages of this country, continued to decline until the accession of the Bourbon dynasty: from that period, till the entry of the French armies, in 1808, all the efforts of the government were insufficient to remove the baneful effects of the Inquisition.

The principles on which the newly modelled tribunal was to be conducted were laid down in the edict of denunciation, which required the faithful, on pain of excommunication, and other punishments, to give immediate information against their very parents, nearest relatives and friends, of any deviation from the puerile and absurd prohibitions, contained in this monument of human ignorance and depravity. The Manuel of Eymeric* had previously regulated the mode of trial and punishment; so that the inquisitors had little more to do, than give a loose to their thirst for blood: how well they fulfilled the wishes of his holiness, Pius IV., 20,000 victims who either perished in the flames, or were given up to other penalties, during the first two or three years of the establishment, is the best proof.*

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* This little volume was prepared by Nicholas Eymeric, Grand Inquisitor of Aragon, about the middle of the fourteenth century, and has been republished at Montpellier, in Spanish, during the present year.

After describing the terror spread throughout Andalusia, when the inquisitors began their operations at Seville, by enjoining the instant return of all those who had fled at their approach; and alluding to the place of execution, at the gates of that city,† Llorente asks, "who will dare assert that such punishments for mere alleged errors of the understanding were conformable to the spirit of the gospel?" Amongst the important services rendered by the historian of the Holy Office, he has most effectually exonerated the people of Spain, and their representatives, from having, in the smallest degree, contributed to, or countenanced its establishment. His statements relative to the tumults which occurred in Aragon and Castile, soon after the nomination of Torquemada,‡ as well as the formal remonstrances of the Cortes of Valladolid and Zaragoza, in 1518 and 1523, are conclusive on this subject. It is also evident, that Isabella was led into sanctioning the measures proposed, by the emissaries of Pius IV., in the first instance through fear. This mild and benevolent woman must have been aware of the consequences of refusal: those who made a trade of shedding the blood of innocent victims, would not be likely to spare either the dagger or the cup, had the unsuspecting queen opposed their iniquitous designs.

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* The victims condemned at Seville, were independent of those who suffered in Aragon, where the proceedings of the Holy Office had not experienced any interruption.

† This spot was called *El Quemadero,* or burning place. It was ornamented with four statues, representing Prophets: according to some writers, the victims were bound to these figures; while others assert them to have been merely inclosed in the arena, and guards placed round it, to prevent their escape.

‡ It has been long thought in Spain, that Torquemada was the first Inquisitor-general; Llorente has rectified this error, by giving the names of the two Inquisitors of Castile: two monks, named San Martin, and Morillo. It was not till February, 1482,

That neither the opposition of the people and Cortes, the scruples of the Queen, or the letter addressed to the inquisitors by Charles V. in 1521,* produced any effect, appears from their

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that Tomas de Torquemada received his appointment: so that this minister of vengeance found the Holy Office organized, and all the prisons full of victims, on his assuming its direction. Torquemada was Prior of a Dominican Convent, and confessor to Ferdinand. The number of those who suffered from persecution, during the first eighteen years of the Inquisition, while he filled his station in it, amounted to 105,291; of whom 8800 were burnt in person, and 6500 in effigy.

* This letter was preceded by a brief of Leo X. dated October 12th, 1519, wherein his Holiness, yielding to the continued complaints and remonstrances of the people, granted the reform demanded. The Cortes assembled at Monzon in Aragon, in 1510, succeeded in limiting the jurisdiction of the Holy Office to religious matters; but that held at Zaragoza, in 1518, finding the abuses of its authority increasing daily, drew up thirty one articles, proposing the mode in which its future proceedings

subsequent proceedings; in the course of which, not less than 340,000 human beings were either consumed at the stake, or consigned to perpetual imprisonment, and other severe penalties.

To form a judgment on the undeviating con-

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should be conducted; and, in order to secure the support, not only of Charles, but of the Pope, a considerable subsidy was promised to the Emperor, while agents were sent to Rome to bribe the Cardinals. As His Imperial Majesty seems to have been in want of money, no wonder at his anxiety to meet the wishes of the Cortes. The following is the copy of the letter alluded to in the text.

"Inquisitors! The Cortes of the Kingdom have written, to complain of your not conforming to the articles agreed to by them, and to which we have sworn in this city. In consequence of your not doing so, the people say they will cease paying the taxes. As you know that those articles were drawn up, to remove disorders and abuses, of which there have been so many complaints; that they were settled through the intervention and decree of the Inquisitor-general; as our holy father authorized their confirmation, and it is our will they should be observed; we therefore charge you, and order that the contents of the said articles may be observed, according to their series and tenor: so that in whatever relates to the crime of heresy, we have provided and ordered that the necessary facilities shall be afforded by our officers, in order that justice may be administered in due form notwithstanding the new brief, to the contrary, lately sent from Rome; but which we have not consented to publish in our kingdoms. We have already written to his Holiness, praying that it may be revoked, which we are sure he will do.

"Given at Ghent, the 3rd day of August, 1521.

(Signed) The King."

The brief, noticed towards the conclusion of the Emperor's stancy with which the inquisitors pursued their course, it is only necessary to glance at the pages of the "Critical History," in which the author has stated all that is necessary to be known of the Holy Office. A few examples selected from his interesting volumes, and from those other writers, whose testimonies have been confirmed by the living historian, may not be without some share of interest,

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letter, was obtained by the agent of the Holy Office, at Rome, and contained a passage which annulled the Concordat of December, 1521, between Leo and the Cortes of Zaragoza, authorizing the proposed reforms. Those intrigues were so artfully managed, that no benefit whatever resulted from the letter of Charles. In order to secure the co-operation of the Sovereigns, it had been arranged that a part of the confiscations should be appropriated to the royal treasury; a scheme, which fully accounts for the support afforded to the proceedings of the Holy Office, by nearly all the Spanish Kings. Llorente quotes a letter from Rome, by Don Juan Manuel, the Ambassador of Charles, to his master, stating that if certain modifications were admitted, His Majesty would lose a million of ducats, which had hitherto been raised from the confiscations. The death of Selvagio, the Chancellor of Charles V. and a profound jurisconsult, while the negotiations were going on, not less than the influence of Cardinal Adrian, are supposed to have had a great effect in preventing the projected reform. Whatever may have been the causes which combined to establish the Holy Office so firmly, there cannot be a doubt that, were it not for the continued system of bribery, resorted to by the inquisitors both here and at Rome, they would not have found their task so easy. What a field of reflection do not these practices in the name of religion open to the most superficial observer!

and will have the effect of confirming my previous conclusions. As it is in the mode of punishment adopted by the sacred tribunal, that the real character and depravity of its conductors is best seen, the treatment of some of those unhappy victims, who were marked out for persecution, proves that the human sacrifices of the South Sea Islands, and the scalping practised by the North American savages, were acts of mildness when compared with the procedure of the Holy Office.

After the plunder, persecution and punishment of the Jews and Moors who remained in Spain, upwards of a million of the most opulent inhabitants were driven to the necessity of emigrating, and went to enrich other countries, with their knowledge, wealth and industry. According as the number of these victims diminished, so did the persecution of the christian community increase. The progress of Lutheranism in the 16th century seems to have added greatly to the furious zeal of the Holy Office; giving rise to refinements in cruelty and acts of injustice, known only where religion has been the pretext.

Philip II. one of the most cruel and bigotted of the Spanish monarchs,* entered so fully into the views of Valdes, the Inquisitor-general of his reign, that he addressed a letter to Paul IV. in

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* It was in the reign of this Prince, and by his particular request, that those detected in smuggling horses into the Peninsula were pursued as heretics!

1522, calling on his Holiness for additional powers; those by which so many thousands had been sacrificed, in the preceding ninety years, being insufficient. The result of this application was an immediate brief, authorising Valdes to give up Lutheran heretics of every class, not excepting those who had repented, and read their recantation to the secular arm, whence there was no appeal. If the memory of Philip and Valdes, says Llorente, could be reproached with no other crime, this act alone is enough to cover them with infamy. Amongst the new regulations now introduced, particularly to prevent the introduction of heretical tracts, it was decreed that the confessors who attempted to screen their penitents, should suffer the same punishment, and that whoever neglected implicit obedience to the edict of denunciation, if even a Bishop, Archbishop, Cardinal, *King or Emperor*, should be amenable to the Holy Office. As a reward for all who denounced their parents, relatives, or friends, a fourth of the culprit's property was promised to the informer. So rapid was the progress of the reformed religion, and great the alarm excited on the part of its opponents, that, as if the Inquisition had not abundant means of providing for the exigencies of the occasion, additional sums were claimed, to defray the expences of the establishment: another proof of the insatiable character of the Inquisitors.

In order that the converts to Luther's doctrines might be terrified into an adherence to the catholic faith, two grand Auto-de-Fes were celebrated at Valladolid in 1559. Don Carlos, the presumptive heir to the throne, and the Princess Juana, his aunt, who was left as Regent during the absence of Philip, were present at that held on the 21st of May: it was also attended by the flower of the Spanish nobility, of both sexes, and an immense concourse of the people. Some idea may be formed of this ceremony, when it is added, that the bones of Dona Eleanora de Vibero, who had been interred some time before as an irreproachable catholic, were burned, together with her two sons and a daughter! As the house formerly inhabited by Dona Eleanora, had been denounced as the scene of Lutheran worship, it was rased to the ground, and a column erected on the spot, bearing an inscription with the particulars of the event. Llorente says, that this monument of human ferocity against the dead, was not demolished before the occupation of Valladolid by a French corps in 1809.* The second Auto took place on the 8th of October, and was got up for the express purpose of gratifying Philip, on his return from the Low Countries, where he had gone to quell the revolts created by the unheard of atrocities committed there in the name of the divinity.* Neither pains nor expense were spared, to render this ceremony worthy of the august visitors: who, besides the King and the Royal Family, consisted of all those most distinguished for birth or fortune in Spain.

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* Dona Eleanora, was the wife of Pedro de Cazella, who held a high situation in the financial department of the state. Nearly all the members of the Cazella family appeared at this Auto: one of them, Dona Constancia, a widow condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscation of all her property, was recommended for mercy, to the Regent, by her brother, Don Agustin, who said as the procession passed, "I pray your Highness to have compassion on this unhappy woman, who leaves thirteen orphans without any provision!"

A writer who describes the event, relates that the great square presented the most pompous and magnificent sight imaginable: in the centre were placed thirteen stakes, three feet and a half high: the whole of one side of the square was fitted up with boxes, richly ornamented, for the court, while the other three were arranged with seats in the form of an amphitheatre. His Majesty and the Princess his sister, together with Don Carlos, the Duke of Parma, and the French Legation, entered the great balcony prepared for their reception, at nine o'clock in the morning; the bishops, grandees, and other dignitaries with their wives and daughters, occupied the boxes on each side of the royal family. The Countess of Ribadavia, the most beautiful woman at the court of Philip, attracted all eyes, and is said to have disturbed the devotions of many of the spectators. The ring of bells and the lamentations of the penitents, at ten o'clock, announced the near approach of the procession, for which the company were waiting with impatience. This soon appeared, preceded by a party of soldiers and some Alguazils of the Holy Office; next to these came Fray Domingo Rodriguez carrying a large wooden cross, painted green; he was followed by Fernando Valdes, the Grand Inquisitor, devoutly bearing aloft the standard of the Faith. Behind the Inquisitor were seen thirteen victims intended for the flames, habited in their *sanbenitos* and pasteboard mitres;* their hands were bound, and each penitent was accompanied by a confessor and a *familiar*, who walked by his side. After these, two men bore a coffin, containing the bones of an old woman named Sanchez, condemned for sorcery, but who had destroyed herself in the dungeons of the Holy Office. Her effigy, and seventeen individuals of both sexes, completed the train of penitents. A mule richly caparisoned, having a case suspended on each side, covered with black velvet, which had a deep gold fringe, came next to the condemned, and was guarded by four secretaries. The members of the Inquisition and religious communities covered the flanks of the procession, while the Chapter of the Cathedral, officers of Justice and Municipality, brought up the rear, marching with a slow and solemn step round the arena, and bowing to the King as they passed. The victims condemned to death were tied to their respective stakes, and those destined for minor punishments ranged on each side near them. When the remainder of the procession had taken their seats, the Grand Inquisitor proceeded to the King's balcony, and ordering his Majesty to rise, administered the usual oath. This was performed by holding up his right hand, and swearing to defend the tribunal of the Faith, denouncing all those he suspected of meriting its chastisement. The oath being signed, it was read aloud by a secretary. The sermon usual on these occasions, was preached by the Bishop of Cuenca, after which, those of Palencia and Zamora degraded the ecclesiastics about to be consumed.

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* An account of these horrors is to be found in a scarce tract printed at Amsterdam, in 1620, entitled *Le Miroir de la Cruelle et Horrible Tyrannie Espagnole, perpetrée au Pays bas, &c.* This volume, to which allusion will perhaps be made in a future page, is ornamented with prints, representing the various modes of punishment adopted: were it not that the recitals it contains were attested by several contemporary authors, it would be impossible to give them credence. Half of the book is devoted to a translation of the narrative of the philanthropic Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa.

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* The *Sanbenito* was a loose yellow vest or gown, worn by all those who were condemned to be burnt, or to do penance; in the first case, it was painted all over with demons and reptiles; in the second, quite plain; and the same with regard to the *Coroza*.

These preparations having terminated, the thirteen victims were led off to the Quemadero, where their sentences were carried into immediate effect. The other parts of the ceremony being completed, high mass and Te Deum were sung; on which the king retired, when the cross and standard were borne back in triumph to the cathedral.

Five of the thirteen sufferers by fire were nuns: of whom, the oldest had not attained her thirtieth year. Agreeably to the tenor of their sentences, those who recanted were strangled previous to being placed on the pile.

An Auto-de-Fé performed at Seville, on the 24th of September of the same year, wanted only the presence of royalty to render it much more splendid than those of Valladolid: the victims were more numerous, there being twenty-one given up to the flames, and eighty condemned to minor penalties. A great concourse of the nobility and people also attended this ceremony, which derived additional interest from the rank of the victims, particularly three beautiful young women, named de Virues, Cornel, and Bohorques; the latter no less renowned for her learning and heroism, than for her personal charms. Belonging to one of the first families of Andalusia, Maria de Bohorques had scarcely reached the twenty-first year of her age, when she was seized by the familiars of the Holy Officer, as a Lutheran; when summoned to appear, Maria boldly acknowledged her principles, and eloquently defending them, told her judges, that so far from punishing, they ought to follow her example. On refusing to admit the assertions of suborned witnesses, the torture was applied. Suffering with the utmost resignation, the tormentors could only extort that her sister Juana knew her sentiments, and did not seem to disapprove them. This admission, which proved fatal to the party thus innocently denounced, proceeded from that candour and love of truth, which rendered it impossible for the victim to disguise any act of her life. Condemned to ascend the pile, the most strenuous efforts were made to convert the offender. Two Jesuits sent for this purpose, the night before her execution, retired without producing any effect, though full of admiration at her firmness and learning. These were followed by several other missionaries, whom she also captivated by the sweetness of her manners, and solidity of her reasoning; but they could not gain a single point, or weaken her faith for a moment. Maria seemed to lose her temper only once, during the tremendous trial to which she was exposed: it was just as she was about to suffer, when a priest, who had abjured, having exhorted her in the most earnest manner to reject the doctrines of Luther, she upbraided him with his ignorance and folly; adding, that there was then no time for disputation, and that what remained ought to be employed in contemplating the death and passion of their Redeemer; thus strengthening the faith by which they were to be saved and justified. Notwithstanding the obstinacy of Maria de Bohorques, as it was called by her persecutors, numbers of the hierarchy, both priests, monks, and bishops, interfered with the Inquisitors, urging them to take the youth, and surprising mental acquirements of the criminal into consideration. After much entreaty, they consented to be satisfied, if she would only repeat the creed. This she did, but had scarcely concluded, before she began to comment on each article, interpreting in conformity to the principles of Luther. The judge, however, would not give her time to finish; ordering the executioners to perform their office, she was strangled and thrown into the flames.*

The twenty-first chapter of Llorente's valuable work, closes with a scene of horror, far exceeding all that the most ferocious mind could conceive; and is not, certainly, amongst the least incredible of those shocking acts, which have been brought home to the ministers of religion in this country.

Owing to the admission of Maria Bohorques, her sister Juana, the wife of Don Francisco de Vargas, also distinguished for her beauty and accomplishments, was thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office, though advanced six months in pregnancy: the barbarians could not wait a few short weeks! Brought to bed in a cell, the infant was torn from her arms eight days after its birth: the Inquisitors conceiving they had done all that humanity required, in transferring their victim, still labouring under the debility attendant on her confinement, to a less incommodious dungeon. The unhappy sufferer had the good fortune to meet a fellow captive; who, touched with her forlorn condition, performed all the offices of friendship, during her convalescence. The ministering angel, whose name is not mentioned, being herself placed on the bed of torment, the disconsolate mother, though yet extremely weak, was, in her turn, called upon to act the part which had been so cheerfully fulfilled by the stranger. When the latter was brought back with her flesh lacerated, and her limbs nearly dislocated, in an expiring state, Juana did all she could to soothe the agonies of her benevolent companion, destined, at no distant day, to feed the flames of an Auto-de-Fé. Scarcely had the sad offices of gratitude and sympathy been performed, before Juana was conducted to the subterraneous chamber; extended on the bed of torture, the cords by which her still feeble limbs were bound, penetrated to the very bones, so as to cause the bursting of several arteries; till, at length, a torrent of blood rushed from her mouth and ears; being taken back to her cell in this deplorable state, the sufferings of Juana ceased with life a few days after. The historian does not say what became of her husband and child; he merely adds, that the judges thought they had expiated this most cruel homicide, by declaring the martyr innocent at the following Auto-de-Fé: under what an overwhelming responsibility, says he, must these cannibals have, one day, to appear before the tribunal of the Divinity!

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* This highly interesting victim has been made the heroine of a Romance, entitled *Cornelia Bororquia*, reprinted in London; but which M. Llorente proves to be made up of improbabilities, instead of being historical, as pretended by the author.

While these scenes were passing here, the death of Paul IV. which occurred on the 18th August, 1559, was followed by an insurrection in Rome, where the people destroyed the Holy Office, and burnt its archives. This event had so little effect on the Spanish inquisitors, that another Auto, upon a magnificent scale, was prepared at Seville, in December, to celebrate the entry of Philip. His Majesty, however, being unable to attend, it was performed without him. There were only fourteen victims immolated on this occasion, with three in effigy, and thirty-four minor condemnations.

That the persecuting spirit of the Holy Office was not exclusively confined to native Spaniards, has often been proved, and more especially so in the above Auto; when an English merchant, named Burton, who had come to San Lucar, on a trading voyage, was burnt with the rest as an impenitent Lutheran, for having refused to renounce his faith. Another of our countrymen was consigned to the flames soon afterwards, and the property confiscated in both cases: "a new proof," says Llorente, "that the Inquisitors were more often swayed by motives of avarice than those of justice and piety!"

A still more atrocious act arose out of Burton's condemnation; John Fronton,* of Bristol, owner of a great part of the merchandize seized from the former, on hearing of the event, left England, and repaired to Seville to claim his plundered property, having previously proved his right to its restitution. After many months delay, and various orders in his favour from the court, it was agreed that the merchandize should be restored. Meantime the Inquisitors took their measures so well, that witnesses were suborned to swear that Fronton had broached the doctrines of Luther, during his short stay at Seville; upon which he was arrested, and thrown into the dungeons of the Holy Office there. The horrors by which he was now surrounded, and frequent application of the torture, induced the prisoner to confess whatever his persecutors thought proper to alledge against him; and, to save his life, he expressed a wish to be reconciled: this was all they required; being declared *suspected* of heresy, the whole of Fronton's property was again confiscated, and himself condemned to wear the *Sanbenito* during twelve months. This wanton outrage is adduced as a proof of the ruinous consequences which resulted from the impenetrable secrecy of the trials: "yet," observes Llorente, "there are Englishmen who defend the Inquisition; I have even," says he, "heard a Catholic clergyman make its apology; but I convinced him how little he knew the nature of this establishment, and that I did not venerate our holy religion less than himself, or any inquisitor breathing; but that if we compared the spirit of peace and charity emanating from the gospel, as well as the life and doctrines of Christ, with the craft, malice, and hypocrisy which dictated the proceedings of the Holy Office, and with the powers of the Inquisitors to abuse their authority, to the contempt of all law, natural and divine, he could not help abhorring the tribunal, as fit only to make hypocrites and knaves."

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* Most probably Brunton; as I should imagine that Bing, another name mentioned by Llorente, is meant for Brook. The distortion of English names and places is carried quite as far in Spain as in France.

In perusing the "Critical History," and other works relative to the Holy Office, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the wantonness with which individuals were punished for the merest trifles. If it were possible to smile in contemplating such iniquities, the story of William

Franco, related by Llorente, is truly ridiculous. Having detected his wife in an illicit intercourse with a priest, probably her confessor, he lamented the fate which prevented the violator of his domestic peace from being punished. Happening to be in a company where purgatory became the subject of conversation, Franco observed, "for my part, I have quite enough of it in the society of my wife; there is no other purgatory wanted for me!" This remark being denounced by an agent of the Holy Office, Franco was seized, and appeared at the Auto-de-Fé, of December, 1559, having been previously condemned to an indefinite imprisonment.

Another victim of a higher class, one of the Corporation of Seville, was condemned to walk in the procession, with a Sanbenito and wax taper: he had also been fined, to pay the expenses of his trial, for expressing his regret that such large sums should be expended in the church ceremonies of Holy Thursday, while many families were suffered to want bread, and who might be consoled in a way much more acceptable to the Divinity, with the money destined for this purpose. Llorente mentions the names of two servants to the keeper of the prison of the Inquisition, who were sentenced to be flogged, confined ten years in the gallies, and mulcted of their wages, for having suffered the prisoners to communicate with each other. Also a Dutchman, who received one hundred lashes, and was banished for not denouncing a person, whom he knew to be meditating his escape!

No interference, however powerful, could ever turn the judges aside, from any persecution they had commenced: this was exemplified in a thousand instances. The story of Blanquina, widow of Gonçalez Ruiz, arrested in the reign of Charles V., at the age of eighty, for having, in her youth, been present at certain rites, savouring of the Jewish religion, is one of the most singular related in the "Critical History." The family of Blanquina having appealed to the Pope, his holiness caused an enquiry to be instituted at Rome, recommending that the prisoner should be removed from the dungeons of the Holy Office, to a convent, and allowed an advocate of her own choice. Informed of what was passing, the Inquisitors did not lose a moment, but immediately condemned their victim, as suspected of heresy. A letter was, at the same time, procured from the Emperor to his minister at Rome, requiring that the latter would solicit of his holiness, to approve of what the judges had done, *as the sentence was extremely mild, only condemning the criminal to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of her property.* Letters to the same effect were addressed to several Cardinals. "We should be justified," says M. Llorente, "in regarding Charles V., as a monster of cruelty, if it was not known that he made a rule of confirming the resolutions of his preceptor, and spiritual guide, the Cardinal Adrian, in all affairs of this nature."

It was not without considerable delay, and the utmost difficulty, that the Pope succeeded, at length, in getting the sentence of Blanquina revoked; and then, not until she had suffered many months close confinement. The historian asks, "how was it possible for Leo, who knew the particulars of this persecution, as well as all that had been hitherto done in matters of appeal, to find in his conscience sufficient reasons for suffering the existence of a tribunal, concerning which he spoke as harshly in his briefs!"

A very curious and interesting account of an Auto-de-Fé, celebrated at Logroño, on the 7th and 8th of November, 1610, chiefly intended for the punishment of witches, has been reprinted since my arrival here, with notes, attributed to Moratin, the Spanish Moliere. In addition to the details relative to the fifty-three offenders, of whom ten were burned in effigy, this tract contains a history of the sect of sorcerers, said to have been detected in practising their midnight rites and incantations, at Zugarramundi, in the valley of Bastan.* The notes and preface of Moratin, are written in his usual style of eloquence and patriotic feeling: like many others, he attributes all the evils of his country to the establishment and procedure of the Holy Office. Alluding to those materials, which the days of civil and religious oppression will afford to the future historian, Moratin says, "They will explain why the Roman See uniformly supported a tribunal so inimical to the prosperity of nations; and also what could induce the kings of Spain to countenance an authority, which brutalized the people, usurped the episcopal jurisdiction; constantly menacing the throne itself: how they could tamely witness its phrenzied excesses, and effects in checking the progress of knowledge; propagating the grossest errors, trampling on the forms of law, and the most sacred rights of mankind; punishing crimes, which it was impossible to commit, and opposing innumerable obstacles to the glory of the monarch." In noticing the mistaken ideas of foreigners, with regard to Spain, and the impossibility of estimating either what the people were, or are capable of becoming, the writer asks, "how was it possible to write in days of darkness and despotism: who could attempt to instruct a government that condemned both error and truth, wisdom and superstition, vice and virtue, at one and the same pile?" The concluding note is worthy of remark, as conveying the sentiments of a writer, whose patriotism cannot be doubted. After recapitulating the various sufferings to which the victims of Logroño were exposed, on such an absurd charge, he adds, "if there is henceforward to be a scarcity of these entertaining and devout spectacles, the fault is with the great Captain, who, at the head of fifty thousand men, has put an end, at Chamartin, to those barbarous laws, dictated by ignorance, in opprobrium of reason and humanity, and which was proclaimed at Ucles, Medellin, Almonacid, Ocana, and Tarragona; a measure that was necessary to root out of an obstinate and deluded nation, such monstrous opinions, iniquitous tribunals, and such gross and ferocious customs!"

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* A translation of this curious production, is given in the French Edition of Llorente's Work; and in the Monthly Repository for 1816 and 1817, an analysis of the tract may be found.

The frequency of these butcheries, during the seventeenth century, is a source of just surprise to those who reflect that they took place at a time when learning and the fine arts seemed to burst through all the fetters by which they had been hitherto bound. It is really astonishing to think that while such men as Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton, in our own country; Montaigne and Pascal, in France; Machiavelli, Galileo, and Tasso, in Italy; and when Spain herself could boast of her Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon, Guevera, and Quevedo, men, who either had been, or were proclaiming, the sublimest truths of reason and philosophy, the hierarchy here should be exclusively occupied in immolating their fellow-creatures, and tormenting the human species, for mere matter of opinion!

The last Auto-de-Fé performed in the presence of the Royal Family, which took place here in

1680, to celebrate the marriage of Charles II. with a Princess of the Bourbon race, at a time when Europe had attained a degree of knowledge and refinement, scarcely exceeded in the present day, is, doubtless, one of the most extraordinary facts connected with the history of the human mind; while it proves to what excesses and absurdities the force of custom is capable of carrying a people and their rulers. An account of this frightful holocaust, in which no less than one hundred and twenty victims were brought forward, condemned to various punishments, is amongst the reprints which have appeared since the recent change, and may be truly regarded as the greatest literary curiosity of the age. Llorente expresses his surprise, that scenes like these should have been chosen to amuse the princesses of France; he might also have asked, by what fatality it was, that the parents of these princesses did not stipulate that their daughters should not be present at such spectacles!

The volume to which I allude, under the title of *Relaçion Historica*, contains a minute description, not only of the ceremony, but a copy of the sermon preached, and the questions put to those who abjured. There can be no better standard, by which to judge the state of Spain, at the above period, than this extraordinary book; which also throws a great light on the general practice and attributes of the Inquisition. The author, Don Jose del Olmo, an Alcalde, and *familiar* of the Holy Office, dedicates his book to the King, whom he calls the Jupiter of Christianity. The heathen deity fulminated his bolts against those who opposed impiety to religion and justice, for which he was not only placed amongst the stars, but hailed as the supreme god of the heavens: what less could be done for the protector of the church, the Captain-general of the militia of God, the pillar of the faith, but to venerate him as the greatest king of the earth? Extreme piety, and a desire of following the example of his father, Philip IV., (surnamed the great!) who had patronized and was present at the grand Auto performed in 1632, are the reasons alleged by the author, for his Catholic Majesty having expressed a wish to preside over a similar ceremony.

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* A similar fête had been given to Elizabeth de Valois, Queen of Philip II. at Toledo, in 1560, and here in 1632, to celebrate the birth of a prince.

From the number of delinquents collected at several prisons round the capital, it was decided, that instead of celebrating the Auto at Toledo, as originally intended, it should be transferred to the capital. The ministers of religion, monks, and their attendants, within many leagues of Madrid, being summoned, a solemn procession took place on the 30th May, for the purpose of proclaiming the approaching ceremony, calling on the faithful to attend, and promising those indulgences which the sovereign pontiffs had ordained in their various decrees. The following is a literal translation of the proclamation which was repeated eight times, in different parts of the city, and before the royal family, who were seated in a balcony of the alcazar or palace, as the procession passed: "Be it known to all the inhabitants of Madrid, and those of the neighbouring districts, that the Holy Office of the Kingdom of Toledo, will celebrate a public Auto-de-Fe in the Great Square of this city, on the 30th June, when all the graces and indulgences granted by the sovereign pontiffs, will be conceded to those who accompany and assist at the said Auto; which is thus proclaimed, that it may come to the knowledge of all the faithful."

While several thousand workmen were employed under the direction of an architect especially appointed to prepare the amphitheatre, a company of soldiers of the Faith were organized, and nearly all the Grandees solicited permission to act as *familiars;* a privilege allowed only to the purest blood in Spain. "Many of the highest nobility," says our author, "immortalized their names by this memorable act of piety; and in order that future generations may enjoy the consolation of seeing our age ennobled, that the present may admire what those who come after will, without doubt, imitate; as also that the ministers of the holy tribunal may enjoy the pleasure of witnessing the estimation in which its rank and dignity is held by the most illustrious names in the universe, the names of those who asked the favour of being allowed to act as familiars, and assumed the habit of the Holy Inquisition, on this occasion, are inserted." Of the eighty-five names which follow, a fourth were grandees of the first class, forty counts and marquesses, and the remainder either their immediate heirs, or nearest relatives.

The procession of the green and white crosses took place on the 29th June, when all those destined to take an active part in the ceremony of the following day attended; and amongst others, the Duke of Medinaceli, bearing the standard of Faith.*

Passing before the palace, to the sound of instruments, and chaunting the Miserere, the procession moved on to the Brasero, or place of execution, where one of the symbols of christianity was planted and consecrated on a pedestal prepared for its reception. As to the standard and green cross, they were destined to ornament the arena of the amphitheatre, to which the procession went, after quitting the Brasero.

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* The names and titles of his Excellency are thus given by the author: "The Most Excellent Lord, Don Juan Francisco de la Cerda, Enriques, Afan de Ribera, Duke of Medinaceli, Segorve, Cardona, Alcala and de Lerma; Marquis of Denia, Comares, Pallares, Tarifa de Cogolludo, and Alcala; Count of Ampudias, Pradas, Santa Gadea, Duenas and Buendia, Molares, and the city and port of Santa Maria; Viscount of Villamur; Lord of the towns of Solsona and Lucena; Governor-in-Chief of Castile and Andalusia; Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Golden Fleece; Lord Chamberlain to His Majesty; Counsellor of State; Prime Minister," &c. &c. &c.

An idea of the rank of the family of Medinaceli may be formed from the circumstance of those dukes having, formerly, at the accession of the kings of Spain to the throne, protested against their coronation, on the plea of being the more rightful heirs of the ancient sovereigns.

The procession of the criminals followed that of the crosses and standard: they were conducted to the amphitheatre, to have their respective sentences read: this part of the rehearsal, for, so it may be called, is compared, by the author, to that which will be seen in the "tremendous day of the universal judgment; because, if the ignominy of the guilty creates horror there, the glory of the just, and sovereign majesty of Christ and his Apostles, who, following the standard and cross, assisted by choirs of angels, will bend their way to the Valley of Jehosaphat, where the Supreme Judge will occupy his throne," &c.

Although the preparations commenced as early as three in the morning of the 30th, the victims, living and dead, were not led forth before 7 o'clock; at which hour the procession commenced. Of the number who graced this horrible triumph, twenty-one were condemned to the flames, and thirty-four to be burnt in effigy. There were eleven penitents who had abjured the Jewish faith, and fifty-four reconciled Israelites, wearing Sanbenitos, and carrying wax tapers. Judging from the author's description, the procession must have been, at once, one of the most magnificent and terrific ever witnessed in Spain.

Though attended by upwards of two hundred thousand spectators, not a sound was heard, to break the awful silence, as it passed along: nothing could exceed the order and regularity preserved throughout: these are subjects of panegyric with the author, but his chief admiration is reserved for the Inquisitor-General, Don Diego Sarmiento de Talladares. "There was much to admire," says Don Jose, "in each individual of this marvellous assemblage; but the majesty with which the Inquisitor-General upheld the dignity of his office, was so transcendant, that he appeared to have exceeded himself! As the cause was so much of God, it pleased him to grant greater light to his minister; because, when he predestines men for high employment, he prepares them with the knowledge necessary for their intended occupations."

That part of the amphitheatre appropriated to the royal family and the court, was resplendent with gold and silver ornaments, displayed on damask, silk and velvet draperies of all hues; after having exhausted his power of description, in detailing the other portions of the edifice, Don Jose del Olmo concludes by observing, that it might justly be regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

Those parts of the theatre thrown open for the public, were crowded to excess, and the King, attended by the whole of his family and court, had taken their seats some time before the procession had arrived. When high mass was over, the Inquisitor-General proceeded to the royal balcony, and administered the usual oath; after which, it was taken by the municipality.*

These preliminary arrangements concluded, Don Tomas Navarro, head chaplain to the king, commenced the customary sermon, choosing for his text, the first verse of the seventy-third Psalm. The preacher began, by telling his auditors, that the amphitheatre was an emblem of what they had one day to see at Jehosaphat. "The divine tribunal, in heaven," said he, "is similar in all things, to that of the faith on earth, since it proceeds with the justification operated by the latter." A long rhapsody, in which he alluded to the progress of scepticism, was followed by a violent attack on the Jews:—"Who are greater enemies of God, or more worthy of punishment," he asked, "than the observers of the Mosaic laws? In them, hope is blindness ; patience insensibility ; and firmness fear and obstinacy : men of such infamous lives, so abandoned to every species of impurity, usury, and injustice, that St. Peter and Domianus could not better designate them, many centuries ago, than by exclaiming, '*Ab eis in veritate Judaice vivitur!*'" Part II. is devoted to heretics: of these, Don Tomas does not seem to have entertained a much better opinion than of his friends, the Jews. "Other enemies of God," says he, "and the worst of all, are the heretics whom St. Augustin considered lower than the most profligate Gentile: heresy is more execrable than idolatry, inasmuch, as he who makes war, under the mask of friendship, is worse than one who acts with open and undisguised hostility." To the authority of St. Augustin, is added that of Chrysostom, St. Peter, Damianus, and other canonized fathers.

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* The oath was as follows, and repeated by the Inquisitor-General to the King, who rose and took off his hat, and placing one hand on a crucifix: "Your Majesty swears and promises, as a true and Catholic King, appointed by the hand of God, to defend the Faith with all your power; that you will cause all heretics and apostates to be prosecuted: that you will give and cause to be given the favour and aid necessary, in order that heretics and perturbers of our christian religion shall be taken and chastised, conformably to the sacred canons, rights," &c.; the King replied, "Thus I swear and promise on my word and faith." That of the municipality is much more elaborate, and as vindictive as language could make it.

Ample scope is given to the wrath of Don Tomas, in the third section of his discourse, which begins with a general anathema against the extreme folly of sceptics, and in praise of believers: it is asked how the former can open their mouths, and express a doubt on matters, to support which, a world of wise men had been writing for seventeen hundred years; for which the blood of so many martyrs had flown, and that innumerable miracles had confirmed. The following passage may be considered as a fair specimen of the figures used by Dr. Tomas, to strengthen and embellish his arguments:—"Know ye," said he, "that the Church and its faith are like unto Mount Olympus, to whose brow, the highest peaks, and most elevated hills, do not reach: thus it is, that the most sublime geniuses and wisest pens cannot approach the shadow, much less compute with the lowest, (if there be any thing low there,) of the faith and wisdom of the Church."

After comparing the late king, Philip IV. to Alexander the Great, and giving the preference to his Catholic Majesty, Don Tomas has boldness and candour enough to say, "what the heretics do with their wicked and false dogmas, we do with our depraved manners and customs." He then endeavours to remove the impression which so bad a compliment might have produced on his auditory, by concluding with an invocation to the holy office:—"And Thou, most holy tribunal of the faith, mayest Thou continue for endless ages, in order to preserve us in the right path, and for chastising the enemies of God!" Oh! how well does this theatre attest the care, solicitude and zeal, with which ye fulfil the office of Inquisitors, whose duty it is, to seek out and discover delinquents." Addressing himself again to the most holy tribunal, he exclaims, "Their greatest glory is this arena of criminals and convicted perturbators: well may I say of these, what the Holy Ghost said of the Church: '*Pulchra est amica mia sicut tabernacula cedar, et sicut pelles Salomonis.*'" The conclusion is worthy of the beginning:—"This is the day of glory for the holy office of Toledo; to have destroyed these horrible monsters, the enemies of God, whom we see in this theatre, removing the errors of some, and reconciling others, and condemning some as obstinate and perverse, devoting them to the flames, in which, after leaving their corporal lives, their refractory souls will immediately fly to be consumed in hell; and thus will God be revenged of his greatest enemies."*

The sermon being ended, a secretary began to read the sentences of those condemned to the flames: this ceremony occupied the attention of the auditory till four o'clock, when the victims were conducted to the Brasero, under an escort, and accompanied by the Corregidor and Alcaldes, appointed to see the sentences put into execution. Don Fernandez Alvarez Valdes, an officer high in the sacred tribunal, followed, to bear testimony to the event. When those victims, who are described in another account, as pale, languid, and woe-begone, the very emblems of despair, had been led off, the secretaries proceeded with the trials and sentences of those convicted of superstition, sorcery, bigamy, and as impostors and hypocrites. It was nine o'clock before the prisoners were assembled round the Grand Inquisitor, to go through the different forms of abjuration. The Articles of the Faith were then put to each penitent, who was required to give his answer in an audible voice. A few of those questions will be sufficient to convey some notion of their general nature.

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* The adulation of Don Tomas is not without an example in our own times, as may be seen by the following extract from an address presented to Ferdinand VII., by Ostolaza, on the re-establishment of the holy office, in 1814.—"The person of your Majesty is no sooner freed from captivity, than the misfortunes and distresses of your people cease! Learning and genius are made known and rewarded with the highest honours: talents, duly appreciated, ensure distinctions to their possessors; but, above all, Religion, persecuted by its enemies, has burst forth, under your Majesty's paternal care, like the great luminary of day, with dazzling radiance. How honorable to me, Sire, to be even admitted into the presence of the greatest monarch; of the best of fathers of his subjects; of the sovereign dearest to the hearts of his grateful people." Many other passages, equally extravagant and absurd, might be cited; and yet, is the address of Ostolaza temperate, in comparison with many sermons which are preached by the missionaries of the present day, both in France and Spain!

Art. 1. Dost thou believe that God is one in essence; three in person; all-powerful; without beginning, middle, or end? Yes, I believe.

Art. 2. Dost thou believe that the Father is God; all-powerful; not created; nor engendered; nor made? Yes, I believe.

Art. 4. Dost thou believe that the Holy Ghost is God; all-powerful; proceeding equally from the Father and Son? Yes, I believe.

(Art. 5 and 6, are not much more intelligible.)

Art. 7. Dost thou believe that we shall rise on the day of the fearful judgment, in these same bodies and souls; that glory will be given to the good, and pain-eternal to the bad? Yes, I believe.

Art. 8. is too indelicate and absurd for modern ears. So is the 9th.

Art. 10. Dost thou believe that our Saviour was crucified, dead, and buried? Yes, I believe.

Art. 11. Dost thou believe that his soul united with the Divinity, (his body remaining in the sepulchre;) descended into the hells; taking out Adam and Eve, and all those who were therein? Yes, I believe.

Art. 14. Dost thou believe that, at the end of the world, he is to come to judge the good and bad; giving glory to the good, and eternal pain to the bad? Yes, I believe.

Giving absolution, saying mass, and chaunting *Te Deum*, took up another hour; after which, the royal family withdrew, and thus ended the ceremony of the 30th June, 1680.

The process of strangling and burning continued all night: as to those who were condemned to be flogged and publicly degraded, their punishment was reserved for the following day. Nearly a third of the whole number, whether destined to be burned, flogged or degraded, were women. When the executions had terminated, another grand procession was performed, for the purpose of restoring the crosses and standard to the cathedral.

The volume of Don Jose del Olmo concludes with an account of a minor Auto, which was celebrated on the 28th of October, in the same year, to reconcile fifteen penitents, as if the Inquisitors wanted to prove their thirst for blood had abated; the pains and penalties on this occasion, did not exceed perpetual imprisonment, confiscation of property, and whipping. Of fifteen victims, eight were women; and from the description given of their persons, they must have been, for the most part, young and beautiful.

I had read a less detailed account of the above dreadful ceremony, previous to the 9th of July, and could not, while in the hall of Cortes, help drawing a comparison between what took place then, and the inhuman spectacle exhibited in this capital one hundred and forty years before; that which had the offering up of human sacrifices for its object, occupying two whole days, while the other, intended to solemnize the compact between Ferdinand and the nation, scarcely lasted as many hours!

LETTER XIII.

RELIGION continued.—Popular errors.—Llorente, and M. Clausel de Coussergues.—MM. de la Borde and Bourgoing.—Assertions of these Writers Refuted.—Allusion to the Grand Autos, and Mode of Procedure.—Recapitulation of Autos and Victims.—Grand Junta.—Case of the Curate Solano.—Change in Public Opinion.—Mayens and Feijoo.—Concordate in 1737: Its effect.—Melchor de Macanaz; Belando; Campomanes, &c.—Progress of Knowledge.—Condemnations in the Reign of Ferdinand VI. and Charles III.—Barbarous Laws unrevoked.—Modern Procedure and Punishment.—Treatment of Prisoners.—Mode of Trial.—Edict of Denunciation.—Its effect on Penitents.—Declaration of Llorente.—Account of the Torture.—Story of Don Juan de Salas.—Various Modes of Suffering.—Chamber of Torment.—Dungeons at Zaragoza, Madrid, and Valladolid.

Madrid, October, 1820.

THE services of M. Llorente have not been confined to an exposure of the principle of injustice, upon which the Holy Office was founded, or the horrors committed by its agents: it required the authority of such a writer to remove many serious errors, into which the European public had fallen, with regard to the mode of conducting the Holy Office, during the eighteenth century, and up to its abolition; errors, which were the more mischievous, since they have led numbers astray, who might have otherwise exerted themselves to relieve civilization from the disgrace of so long tolerating this dreadful scourge.

Some assertions made by a M. Clausel de Coussergues, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in 1817, relative to the Spanish refugees, whom he wished to deprive of the petty stipend hitherto allowed to them by the Government, and in the course of which, he alluded to the Holy Office, as being "a model of mildness and equity," quoting Bourgoing and La Borde, as his authorities, afforded the historian of the sacred tribunal an opportunity to undeceive the public on this subject, and refute, by numerous facts, the opinions so inconsiderately advanced by the advocate of ultra-royalism, as well as those of two travellers, who had, in other respects, done much towards illustrating the civil and political state of Spain, under the reign of despotism. The passage cited from La Borde, represented the verdicts of the inquisitors, of late years, as dictated by sentiments of mildness, tolerance and peace, and but little proportioned to the crime: also, that above a century had elapsed since the celebration of an Auto-de-Fe; the last having occurred under Charles II.; adding, that the name of the Holy Office was scarcely ever pronounced in the Peninsula*. How the author of the Itinerary, whose patriotism and philanthropy are so conspicuous in his own country, could have been led into such a palpable error, justly excited the astonishment of those who knew the real state of the case, while it had the effect of reconciling many to the existence of the Inquisition. As to M. Clausel de

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* *Itineraire d'Espagne, tom. V. page* 25.

Coussergues, his object in quoting the above writers, was one of pure party spirit: alluding to the excesses of the revolution in France, he asserted that it caused more human beings to perish in a day, than the Inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, and the two Indies, had in three centuries!

None could be more capable of refuting the assertions thus erroneously advanced, than he who had acted for three years, as secretary to the Holy Office, in the Spanish capital, and through whose hands all the proceedings of the inferior tribunals had to pass.

In reply to that part of the speech, which describes the Inquisition as a mere council of censure; Llorente represents this as only a preliminary step, by which those styled the qualifiers of the Holy Office, are called upon to examine any facts or publications previously denounced to the Inquisitor-General, who then proceeds to act on the opinion given by the censors: so that the ceremony of censuring is totally distinct from that of prosecution. With regard to the extreme rarity of Autos, De la Borde had evidently confounded those at which the royal family and princes of the blood were present, with others solemnized in the ordinary routine of the sacred tribunal here and in the provinces.*

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* There were fifteen tribunals in the Peninsula, established in the following places: viz. Madrid, Barcelona, Cordova, Valencia, Zaragoza, Cuenca, Granada, Santiago, Valladolid, Toledo, Mur-

Admitting that the Auto-de-Fe, held in 1680, was the only one of the first class, that is to say, presided by royalty, since the above period, it is no less true that an Auto had been prepared for Philip V., though, to the honour of the young monarch be it said, he declined attending, and is reported to have then expressed a determination never to be present at such spectacles. Had there been none, except those intended to edify the kings of Spain, only five could be reckoned; those at Valladolid in 1559; one at Toledo in 1560, and two here in 1680. With respect to those laws of the thirteenth century, by which heretics declared obstinate and impenitent, were handed over to the secular arm, or civil tribunal, for final sentence, and which condemned the victim to be burned alive, without appeal; so far from their being revoked, they had not been even modified. "The execution in such cases," says Llorente, "took place immediately, for care was taken, not to give notice to the judge until the pile was prepared; so that when a prisoner left his dungeon, it was only to expire in the flames."

According to the computation of Llorente, by which one or more Autos were performed yearly at each of the tribunals, there could not have been fewer than 1112, during the twenty-two years of

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cia, Logrono, Jaen, Llerena, and Seville. These were independent of the tribunals in South America, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Cuba, San Domingo, and the Canary Islands.

Charles II.'s reign, and forty-six of Philip V.* The historian of the Holy Office has fifty-four lists of the condemned in his possession, published by different Inquisitors-General, to prove their zeal. It appears from these pious catalogues, that seventy-nine heretics had been burned in person; seventy-three in effigy, to be really so, if ever taken; eight hundred and twenty-nine to be publicly whipped, and then shut up in the fortresses of Ceuta and Oran. Confiscation of property was a matter of course, and applied to all the foregoing cases. It results from the calculation made relative to the

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* A report made to Philip by the Grand Junta, composed of two members from each of the provincial Councils, and that of Castile, contains a minute exposition of the numberless abuses of authority committed by the agents of the Holy Office, in this and the preceding reigns. It appeared from the numerous statements of this report, that the Inquisitors were actuated in all their proceedings, by a settled opposition to the existing authorities, and that their conduct was marked by the most wanton cruelties, immoral practices, and crying injustice. Amongst the instances brought forward to prove the horror and dread inspired by the agents of the Holy Office, it is related that a female who had been denounced at Granada in 1682, for having made some trifling remarks on the wife of one of its secretaries, on hearing their voices outside the door, threw herself into the street, and was dashed to pieces.

The Inquisitors, say the reporters, have hitherto been guided by no other rule, than their own resentment and personal hatred, often plunging the most unexceptionable and exalted characters into their dungeons, who had committed no fault but that of not paying sufficient respect to certain persons of their families!

Autos which took place in the remaining sixty-nine years, that two thousand five hundred and twenty four had been burned in person, twelve hundred and sixty-two in effigy ; fifteen hundred and seventy condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and other penalties ; making a grand total of nineteen thousand, three hundred and forty-six victims, in the short space of sixty-six years, without enumerating those immolated or condemned in the tribunals of America, Sicily and Sardinia ; all dependent on the Inquisition of Spain.

Alluding to the change that took place in public opinion, with regard to the holy office, during the last century, Llorente says, " the progress was so rapid in the reign of Ferdinand VI. that, instead of thirteen, it seemed as if an hundred years had intervened between it, and that of Charles III. This change is attributed to the establishment of literary societies, especially the academies of history and language in the first named reign. Independently of the efforts of the members to restore good taste, and enlighten the people, the family compact greatly facilitated the communication between France and the Peninsula : thus knowledge, hitherto contracted within a narrow compass, soon spread; penetrating the very recesses of the Sacred Tribunal. The Journal of Literature, a periodical work, now forgotten, was then the grand beacon, and continued as such, till the appearance of Mayans and Feijoo, two writers who combatted ignorance and prejudice with Herculean force."

The Concordate of Philip V. with Pope Clement XII. in 1737, relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and also that concluded in the reign of Ferdinand VI. in 1753, which transferred the right of conferring all the church dignities from the Pontiff to the Spanish monarch, broke the ties which had, till then, restrained public opinion, giving it altogether a new turn and impulse. Hence the study of those natural rights, which ought to be the basis of all laws civil and religious: hence too, the study of that christian philosophy which wishes to triumph only by mildness, reason and persuasion; which speaks so loudly in favour of humanity; enjoining, above all, that punishment shall be proportioned to crime. If the first epoch of light produced a Macanaz,* and a Belando, the second witnessed such men as Roda, Campomanes and Aranda: an increase of knowledge gave rise to improvement in education, and when the Inquisitors found they could no longer resist the torrent, their procedure became milder, without, however, any change being made in the legislation. Thus it was that those who persecuted Selgado, Chumacero, Ramos del Manzana and others, suffered Roda, Florida Blanca and Campomanes to write against them, with comparative impunity.

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* Macanaz, to whom allusion has been made in speaking of a disgraced minister of that name, was prosecuted in 1713, for having written various works against the Holy Office. The circumstance of his being fiscal to the council of Castile, and having published his principal works relative to the Sacred Tribunal, by order of the King, seemed only to increase the boldness of the Grand-Inquisitor, Judice; who at length succeeded in obtaining the approbation of Philip; and an ordinance was published, confirming the decree which suppressed his works. Macanaz was thrown into prison, and was only liberated to languish in exile. He is said to have proved to demonstration that if not in profession, nearly all the Inquisitors of Spain, since the days of Torquemada, were Atheists in practice!

Such are the causes alledged for a diminution of the Autos, and their having ceased to be celebrated in public during the reign of Ferdinand VI. with the terrific pomp of former days. Those now accused, were condemned, and their sentences carried into effect privately: thus depriving the Inquisitors of the pleasure they had formerly derived from collecting numbers at a single Auto, and making a more affected display of their zeal.

The opinion entertained of the Holy Office, in the early part of the sixteenth century, and an exact prophecy of what its future policy would be, was published in a tract, from which Llorente has given copious extracts, in the Appendix to his Critical History. This interesting production, is entitled *del Regimento de Principes* of the government of Princes, and is attributed to no less a personage than the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, who was in the early part of his career, violently opposed to the Inquisition, though when raised to power, one of its firmest supporters. It is extremely probable that the plan of the above curious tract was suggested by the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More.

Nevertheless, to prove that the fires of christianity and fervour of its ministers were not extinguished, ten suffered on the piles raised under the auspices of the two Kings I have cited; the effigies of five more were thrown into the brazero; one hundred and seventy went to expiate their *crimes* and end their days in the prisons of Africa; not to mention a long list of minor persecutions: only one pile was prepared in the reign of Charles IV. the intended victim having escaped by dying in his cell.*

Notwithstanding the change so happily effected in public opinion, and the salutary influence it had had on the Holy Office, the historian truly asserts that much more was still required to justify the toleration attributed to it by La Borde and Bourgoing. The danger exists, says he, because the law is not repealed, and I can say the same of the torture; it is true the latter has been discontinued for some time, even when the accused persists in denying the charges: but the law which gives this right to the Inquisitors, is still in full force; nay, the fiscal always demands it as a matter of course, in his act of accusation. " I have seen

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* Don Miguel Solano, Curate of Esca in Aragon, was the last Spanish priest condemned by the Inquisition in this country. Solano was a man of learning and genius: having carefully examined the New Testament, he was immediately struck with the wide difference between the religious practice of his day, and that which is prescribed in the Sacred Volume. Impressed with the necessity of reforming the mode of religious worship, his scruples were addressed to Don Lopez Gil, Bishop of Zaragoza; the answer of the latter not reaching Solano, he communicated his opinions to some professors of the University there, and was, by them denounced to the Holy Office. The manner in which he was pursued, first betrayed by his friend, a priest, and then inveigled into the gripe of the Sacred Tribunal, proves that it had lost nothing of its persecuting character. After trying and convicting the prisoner of a departure from the canonical doctrines of the Roman church, every possible effort was made, but in vain, to convert him: he was therefore condemned to be burnt alive. Either unwilling or afraid to solemnize an Auto-de-Fe in 1805, the Inquisitors adopted a plan which answered every purpose.—

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an old member of Solano's flock, at Escar, the village apothecary, was induced to depose that his spiritual guide had betrayed frequent symptoms of a deranged intellect. Although this contrivance precluded the necessity of burning the unfortunate curate, he had too much sensibility to resist an expedient, which had been often resorted to in other countries as well as in Spain. Falling dangerously ill when he heard of the new process against his understanding, Solano survived the shock only a few days. His last reply to those who endeavoured to convert him in his dying hour, was, that he could not renounce his opinions without the fear of offending God, and betraying the interests of truth. Llorente mentions an Auto de Fe, which took place at Mexico on the 27th of December, 1815, in the person of a priest, named Morellos, but who was only degraded, because the Inquisitors knew he was to be hanged for a political offence, the moment his heresy had been expiated. This was no bad specimen of the state of human nature in the 19th century; let us hope the good people of Mexico will have seen the last proof of how far religious fanaticism can go, towards outraging the Divinity in the midst of modern civilization.

prisoners" adds Llorente, "shudder and tremble to fainting, on hearing the act which closes with this demand!"

"I agree," continues the author, "that the imprisonment is generally confined to the convents of the Peninsula, and not as formerly extended to Oran and Ceuta; but do not MM. Bourgoing and La Borde deceive themselves, if they think this confinement, which should last at least five years, a mild punishment, *disproportioned to the offence!* Let those writers but reflect on all the unhappy beings, who must have suffered in the dungeons of the Holy Office, for two or three years before public condemnation; on the disgrace attached to those who appear in an Auto-de-Fe, performed before a numerous auditory, at which the minutes of the trial are read; with what an appalling formula the sentence is pronounced, and executed in part, since the criminal is obliged to appear in a sanbenito and hempen collar. I admit the prisoners of the Inquisition are not now as they formerly were, thrown into unwholesome, dark, and humid dungeons under ground, but it may be truly said, that there is no possibility of recognizing the actual prisons in the pictures of La Borde and Bourgoing. Each of the accused is shut up in a small room, into which the light can only penetrate by an aperture in the ceiling; having for its whole furniture, a small table, chair and small mattress; none but the jailor who brings his ration of bread and water, is allowed to see him.

The only subject upon which the keeper is permitted to speak to the prisoner, must relate to his food or health; he is not allowed to burn a lamp, nor any fire in winter: such is the actual state of the prisoners of the Inquisition, where it exists, and such that which MM. La Borde and Bourgoing called mild captivity! These writers, would doubtless change their opinion, if, like the wretched victims I have noticed, they were to see themselves pining away in similar dungeons, for whole years together. I have known an individual who had been shut up during six years! The length of time depends on the defective system of procedure: if any person is mentioned in the act of accusation, as able to give testimony, and he happens to be at the other extremity of the world, the captive has to await his return. It is in vain that the accused admits all the charges, and renounces the right of defending himself; the judges, deaf to his prayer, suffer years to pass away without proceeding to his trial. Could the fate of a prisoner be mild," asks Llorente, "to whom the name of his accuser was never mentioned, nor those of the witnesses against him? to whom the charges and depositions were never shown? If he expressed a wish to be defended, a pleader was chosen from those attached to the Holy Office, or to the grand Inquisitor, and began by swearing the oath of secrecy, in which he also promised to persuade his client to renounce all notions of a defence, in case of culpability, and implore the clemency of his judges. But, will it be credited? the counsel himself never saw the papers! the utmost he could procure was a copy of the charges and the prisoner's answers. If there were any witnesses favourable to the accused they were not mentioned: would MM. Bourgoing and La Borde like to be cited before a tribunal that proceeded in this manner?"*

In reply to those who have asserted that the mode of procedure is conformable to equity; and a due regard to personal feelings—for there have been such—Llorente observes, that the real accuser was frequently neither denouncer nor witness: if rich and powerful, he could easily find persons to perform both these offices: the former could excuse himself, by saying he only acted in obedience to the orders of his confessor, and merely to avoid incurring the excommunication pronounced by the edict of the Holy Office. The letter to M. Clausel de Coussergues concludes with the following allusion to the above edict. "I would end here, if I did not think it my duty to denounce it to public indignation. Can any thing be so repulsive, as this Injunction read in all the churches at Lent, and which declares that the faithful of every rank and condition are bound to inform the inquisitors, if they have seen or heard of any thing against the doctrine of the holy mother church, or the free exercise of the attributes of the Inquisition? According to the terms of this decree, the confessors are interdicted from administering the sacrament, or giving absolution, before asking their penitents whether they know any fact worthy of being denounced. What crimes! what abominations!" exclaims Llorente, "has not this infamous edict caused? A word imperfectly understood, or falsely interpreted; ignorance of the subject on which an opinion may be asked or given, is alone sufficient to plunge a whole family into desolation and despair. No tie checks that sex, whose imagination is so easily affected. The fear of eternal damnation makes the female penitent forget, and treat the most sacred obligations with contempt and indifference: mothers, daughters, sisters, nay, even lovers, have been seen throwing themselves at the feet of the inquisitors, and denouncing the dearest objects of their affections!"

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* It appears from a passage in the Critical History, that Don Manuel Abad la Sierra, Inquisitor-General in 1794, was extremely anxious to reform the procedure of the Holy Office, and that the author wrote a memoir, by his desire, pointing out many of the existing abuses; owing, however, to the intrigues of the priesthood, Charles IV. exiled the virtuous Don Manuel, who was soon after recommended to give in his resignation.

"Such monstruosities," continues the historian of the Holy Office, "repel belief so much, that many persons neither can nor will give credit to them: yet, nothing is less rare in Spain! and this would be acknowledged, if those who doubt, knew the influence of confessors over the con-sciences of the multitude, and that of the inquisitors over the former, particularly if they be monks. Let it not, therefore, be supposed I exaggerate: I say nothing but the truth. If it were possible to penetrate into the interior of houses, how many new victims would there not be found to swell the number of those which the Holy Office caused to perish! the more piety and virtue these unhappy beings possess, the more do they tremble at the approach of Lent!"

"But I have seen still more," says this writer, "I have even seen inquisitors, in other respects excellent characters, full of humanity, not dare swerve from the path traced out by the rules of the tribunal, and apprehensive lest they should be themselves denounced by a brother inquisitor, ruin those whom they could otherwise have saved!"

"I have," concludes Llorente, "advanced nothing of which I cannot guarantee the exactness, and give unanswerable proofs of its veracity. If MM. La Borde and Bourgoing were acquainted with the documents I have in my hands, they would never have eulogized the Inquisition, wherein all is mystery: these authors have, doubtless, repeated what they had heard from persons attached to the Holy Office, or were too timid to blame its procedure."*

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* It is much to be regretted that M. de la Borde has not removed the impression occasioned by that portion of his valuable work, which has called forth the remarks of Llorente:—surely

Anxious as the author of the Critical History must have been, to see such a monstrous system of vice and wickedness removed, it may readily be conceived that many circumstances have prevented him from relating all he saw and heard of the proceedings of the Holy Office, and the general abuses of religion in Spain. Although I am convinced, in my own mind, he might have drawn an infinitely more appalling picture, I should have felt considerable hesitation in advancing the foregoing extraordinary statements, were it not for the testimony of such a man as Llorente, whose amiable life, and irreproachable character, place whatever he asserts beyond the suspicion of doubt: with these facts, illustrated and corroborated in a great variety of cases, to be seen throughout his annals, there is no want of data, by which to form a just estimate of the Holy Office, and of it's effect on the manners and customs, national character and prosperity of Spain.

Referring you to the important work which has served as my principal guide in the preceding remarks on the Inquisition, and of which the extracts I have given serve but to convey a very circumscribed notion, I shall conclude this letter

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he must have long since recognized the incorrectness of his conclusions, with regard to the Holy Office. It is almost incredible that an institution, so universally contemned, should have found apologists in a country which occupies so high a rank in European civilization.

with a few remarks on that torture, to which allusion has been so often made.

The best illustration of this horrible punishment is furnished in the case of Juan de Salas, a medical practitioner of Valladolid, whose crime was that of happening to say, in the heat of argument, that the Apostles had erred like other men. As Salas did not lose a moment in atoning for his offence, by acknowledging that he meant no disrespect to religion, he flattered himself with the hope of escaping: nothing could be more fallacious: arrested and thrown into prison, he had not been many days incarcerated, before the Inquisitor Moriz issued his order for applying the *question.* It was thus expressed; "We order that the said torture be applied in the manner, and during the time we shall think proper, having protested, as we again protest, that, in the case of injury, fracture of limbs, or death, the fault can be imputed only to the Licentiate Salas." The ceremony of torture is next protested; "Valladolid, June 21st, 1527. The Licentiate Moriz, Inquisitor, has caused Don Juan de Salas to appear before him, and having read his act of accusation, the said Licentiate Salas declared he had said nothing of what he was accused; upon which, the said Licentiate Moriz caused him to be conducted to the chamber of torment; where, being first stripped to his shirt, Salas was extended on the bed of torment, to which the executioner Pedro Porraz bound him by the legs and arms, with hempen cords: of these he made eleven turns on each limb. While Porras was thus tying the said Salas, the prisoner was repeatedly urged to tell the truth; to which he replied, that he had never advanced what he was accused of. He recited the symbol *Quicumque vult*, and frequently thanked God and our Lady. The said Salas still continuing bound, as stated, a piece of fine linen, being first wetted, was spread over his face, when a pint of water was poured into his mouth and nostrils; notwithstanding which, the said Salas persisted in saying he knew nothing of what he was accused. Pedro Porraz then took another turn of the *Garrote* on the right leg, and poured in a second measure of water; another turn of the *Garrote* was made on the same leg; nevertheless, Juan de Salas said he had never advanced any thing of which he was accused: upon this, the said Licentiate Moriz, having declared the question commenced, but not finished, ordered that the torture should cease: when the accused was withdrawn from the frame. I was present at the said execution, from the beginning to the end. Me, Henrico Paz, *Registrar.*"*

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* Although it was declared that the charges against Salas were not clearly proved, yet, owing to the *suspicions* excited at his trial, the inquisitors decreed that he should attend an Auto-de-Fe, abjure heresy, and pay a fine of ten ducats in gold, for the expenses of his trial; he was also to do penance, publicly, in one of the churches. The sentence was carried into execution on the 24th

The bed, or ladder of torture, (Ecalera) as it is called in Spanish, was composed of a frame, sufficiently large to receive the body of the victim; having a bar passing through the centre, on which the back bone rested, so that both extremities were much lower than his middle. As the head was also lower than the feet, respiration became exceedingly painful and difficult, while the position itself occasioned excruciating pain in all the members.* Llorente compares the application of the cords, to the mode adopted by the Muleteers in loading their mules, when a stick is introduced under the cords, and then twisted round, so as to prevent the load from being loosened: this stick used by the torturer of the Sacred Tribunal, is called the *Garrote.* Pouring water into the mouth and nostrils, whence breathing was first rendered impossible, must have been a dreadful operation. It was also customary to stuff a piece of linen into the mouth, and let the water fall in drops; so that it required an hour to absorb a very small quantity. It frequently happened that the rag was drawn out, saturated with blood, pre-

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of June, 1528, so that he had been a whole year in the dungeons of the Holy Office. Ambrosio de Salas, father to the prisoner, saw the sentence executed, and paid the fine for his son.

* The story of Procrustes may have suggested the bed of torture: if so, it is not the only case in which the heathen mythology has been resorted to, in order to embellish christianity

ceding from the rupture of the vessels, either in the lungs, or parts adjoining.

There were two other modes of torture practised in this country; that of the cord and fire. The first was performed, by raising the victim up to a considerable height, and then letting him fall suddenly, to within a few inches of the ground, so as to dislocate his arms or other limbs. The torture by fire was the most rigorous of all: it consisted of rubbing the soles of the feet with some lard, or other inflammable substance, and then lighting a fire close to them. This was the most frequent mode resorted to in South America and the Netherlands.*

"I will not stop," says Llorente, "to describe all the modes of torment exercised by order of the inquisitors; this task has been performed, with the utmost exactness, by several writers: I shall merely add, that not one of them can be accused of exaggeration. I have read many original records of trials which filled me with horror, nor could I regard those who had recourse to such means, in any other light, than men coolly and deliberately barbarous. The supreme council was frequently obliged to interdict the torture, more than once in the same trial: this regulation was, however, rendered nugatory, by an abominable subterfuge. The cessation of torture, rendered necessary when the victim's life happened to be endangered, was, thenceforth called a suspension, as in the case of Salas; so that the instant an accused recovered from the effects of his first essay, a second, and even a third was made.* "It is quite unnecessary," says Llorente, "to dictate the judgment which future generations will pronounce on such conduct. The chamber of torment was always under ground, and the approach managed so as to prevent the cries of the tortured from being heard, even within the walls of the Holy

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* The torture in both those countries, was re-produced with a thousand additional horrors: who has not heard of the mutilations of every kind, practised by the followers of Ferdinand Cortes; the effecting story of the heroic Inca Atabalipa; employment of blood-hounds, and various other cruelties practised in Peru, Bogota, Venezuela, and Guatemala? According to the statement of Las Casas, as quoted in the *Miroir*, there were twelve millions of human beings sacrificed in the short space of forty years! and yet, it is an incontestable fact, corroborated by history, that the natives of those countries, in which Christianity had never penetrated, were mild, generous, and unsuspecting. Moreover, that they came forward to hail their European visitors, as beings of a superior nature!!!

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* The sole object of the torture was evidently to multiply the number of victims: indeed, many cases are cited, both by Llorenté, and other writers, of persons who denounced hundreds, while on the fatal bed; amongst whom were often found parents and relatives. If, as frequently happened, a victim recanted what might have been extorted in the hour of suffering, he was instantly taken back to the chamber of torment.

Office itself." Llorente thus concludes the chapter, in which the torture is treated; "my pen refuses to retrace the picture of those horrors, for there can be nothing more opposed to the spirit of charity and compassion, so often recommended by Christ to his followers; and yet, there is not, even in the nineteenth century, any law that abolishes the torture!"*

The subterranean cells were of different depths; those at Zaragoza and Madrid, which I have seen, though not more than from twelve to fifteen feet below the level of the street, were damp and loathsome; nor can I imagine how any person could possibly exist for many days in such dreadful receptacles. Some of them reminded me of the *Damusos*, noticed in my letters from Sicily, and used in the criminal procedure of that Island. I understand, from an eye witness, who visited Valladolid soon after the entry of the French there, in 1809, that there were three dungeons in the Holy Office of that place, above thirty feet deep, and that they could be entered only from the top. This contrivance was, no doubt, suggested by the subterranean vaults of ancient Rome, destined for starving the vestals, who had transgressed the barbarous vow. Who knows, too, but that many of our fellow creatures have shared a similar fate at Valladolid! It must be confessed, the agents of the Holy Office were not very particular from whom they borrowed new modes of punishment; their first object seems to have been that of never omitting any opportunity of tormenting poor human nature.

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* The above remark was made in 1818.

It is very generally believed that a portion, at least, of the instruments of torture, were restored with the Holy Office, in 1814; and if reports, which I have heard, both here and at Zaragoza, be true, it must have been resorted to in several instances. Amongst the memoranda found on the walls of the Inquisition here, one, after declaring the innocence of the writer, points out his mother as the accuser: another seems to have been traced by a victim upon whom the torture of *La Pendola* had been exercised. This was performed by placing the sufferer in a chair sunk into the earth, and letting water fall on the crown of his head, from a certain height, in single drops. Though far from appearing so, the Pendola is supposed to have been the most painful operation practised by the defenders of the faith. In a third inscription, dated on the 11th November, 1818, the writer complains of having been shut up for a political offence, and in consequence of a false denunciation.

If the foregoing melancholy statements prove, that the mild and consoling Religion of Christ, has been converted into an instrument of cruelty, oppression, and persecution, it next remains to be shown that in abolishing the Holy Office, only a part of the evils arising from the vices and follies of mankind is removed. This will be attempted in the following remarks on the manners and customs of the Peninsula.

LETTER XIV.

RELIGIOUS REFORM, MANNERS and CUSTOMS.—Preliminary Reflections.—Appeal to Religious Reformers.—Effects of Absolution, Auricular Confession and Celibacy.—Their Origin.—Mr. Bowring.—*Pan y Toros.*—Indifference of the People to the Duties of Religion: its Cause.—Necessity of a Change.—Gregoire, Marina, Llorente, &c.—Relaxation of Morals in Spain accounted for.—Qualities of Men and Women.—Materials for a Legislator.—Influence of the Priesthood.—Effects of Riches and Titles.—Grandees and Plebeians: Degeneracy of the former.—Priests and Lawyers.—Merchants and Tradesmen.—Opinion of the Abbé de Pradt.—Saying of Louis XIV.—Information amongst the Lower Classes.—*Arrieros, Contrabandistas, &c.*—Social Intercourse.—Reception and Treatment of Strangers.—Comparisons.—Castilian Pride, Bombast and Quixotism.—Titles and Armorial Bearings.—Mendicity.—Point of honour in Spain.—Duelling.—Music and Dancing.—Costume.—Inordinate use of Snuff and Tobacco.—Allusion to Bull Feasts.—Essay on Games, by Jovellanos.—Tournaments.—Origin of the Bull Feasts.—Extract from Pan y Toros.—Opinion and Suggestion of Jovellanos.—Desultory Remarks on the Spanish Capital.—Contrast of Riches and Poverty.—Character and Disposition of the Inhabitants.—Situation and Climate.—Architectural Embellishments: Churches, Convents, and other Public Establishments.—Royal Palace; View from the Terrace.—Public Walks, Theatres.—*Plaza de Toros.*—El Prado.—Concluding Hints and Reflections.

Madrid, October, 1820.

To render the preceding facts and observations, relative to those evils which have sprung from the mistaken notions, false zeal and passions of mankind in this country, practically useful to

Spain, they should be followed by a minute account of the abuses that still disfigure religious practice and belief; and without a removal of which, it is to be feared the best political institutions can neither be properly enjoyed, nor of very long continuance. Such an undertaking would lead into a vast field of inquiry, and if well executed, no greater service could be rendered to Spain, than by its publication. Unequal to the task myself, all I aspire to, in the following cursory remarks on the manners and customs of the Peninsula, is that of making you somewhat better acquainted with the general character of the people, and pointing out a few of those circumstances, which the maturest reflection has taught me to regard, as no less repugnant to the genuine spirit of christianity, than they are opposed to the dictates of reason and principles of morality.

While occupied in reflecting on Sicilian manners, it occurred to me that the degree of virtue and vice in a people, depends on the religious and political institutions to which they have been accustomed: twelve years additional experience induces me to lay that down as an axiom now, which was then hazarded as a mere matter of opinion. Although I shall not enter into the developement, of which this notion is susceptible, it is not less worthy of attention to those who may be called on to legislate for a nation long exposed to the influence of tyranny and inroads of corruption. I have a double motive for the above suggestion on the present occasion; that of calling your attention to the subject, as a highly important truth, and of exonerating myself from the charge of advancing any fact through motives of illiberality and prejudice, which is offered only in the hope of promoting the best interests of the Spanish people. Should it become necessary to allude to other countries, for the sake of illustration, or stating any facts interesting to morals, I beg it to be clearly understood, as not proceeding from the smallest tincture of national prejudice. Without dwelling on the injustice of following the examples too often shown in this way, or denying that I may have, myself, fallen into the error, while want of sufficient reflection had still narrowed my views, it is high time to acknowledge that each member of the European family, has its own share of failings to correct without reproaching its neighbour; and, above all, let us hasten to recognize the important truth, that if the people of one country can really boast any superiority over another, it is exclusively due to the nature of their institutions and system of government.

It is a most fortunate circumstance for Spain, that so large a portion of its clergy are favourable to reform, and seem deeply impressed with the necessity of a change, as the only means of saving their flocks from falling into the extremes of incredulity, which so often succeed the excesses of fanaticism, when the latter are removed by the progress of knowledge, or a want of proper example in the pastors of religion. It is to those virtuous and enlightened men I would fain appeal for the justice of my assertions.

In that mass of abuses which encumber the religious institutions of this country, the attention of the reformers has been chiefly directed to celibacy, auricular confession, absolution, form of prayer, preaching and use of images, as it is to the improper application of these powerful agents they principally attribute the existing evils in morals and religion.

It is not my intention to enter into a recapitulation of all those controversies, to which the above points gave rise, during the early ages of the church, nor of the numerous sects that sprung up, according as the fathers differed on points which ought never to have occasioned schism, since they had been already settled by the founder of christianity. Though a reference to the early writers on this subject, is highly necessary to the formation of clear notions, as to the original intentions of Christ and his Apostles, it is most essential for you to know in what way, the abuse of old, or introduction of new dogmas, has influenced the morals and happiness of the community.

If it could be proved that the relaxation in manners, and want of principle, which strike at the root of social happiness, rendering all the blessings of liberty sterile in Spain, Italy, and other countries of Europe, are in a great measure due to the facilities of obtaining absolution, and a supposition that there is a possibility of compromising with our conscience, by means of pecuniary offerings, and the formula of confession, surely there is no man with any pretensions to virtue or true religion, who will deny, that some modification is not required in these fundamental points of the Catholic faith? If it can also be satisfactorily demonstrated, that celibacy has, from its commencement, been productive of the greatest crimes on the part of those, by whom it was professed; that it has had a most fatal effect on the morals of women; and is, finally, no less opposed to the doctrine of Christ, than contrary to the most sacred right of nature: is it not flying in the face of the Divinity, any longer to encourage a practice, fraught with so many paramount evils, and the continuance of which, opposes an insuperable barrier to the progress of female virtue? The Catholic priesthood of Armenia and Greece, have never given up the sacred privilege of marriage: it is merely required that the tie should be contracted previous to ordination. Why should not their example be followed in the rest of Europe?

It would be an endless task to repeat all the anecdotes and stories circulated in the Peninsula, relative to the excesses, into which the vow of celibacy has, at all times, been leading its victims of both sexes. The fact of their existence is so palpable, as no longer to excite the smallest wonder in any class of the Spanish community. Can those acquainted with the manners and customs of Spain, France, or Italy deny, that very little pains are taken to observe a vow, made in direct opposition to true religion and nature. *La Sobrina del Cura* here, and *La Nièce* in France, have long been regarded as an indispensable and natural appendage to the domestic establishment of most parish priests. This fact has often been made the subject of ballads and epigrams on the continent: some of the most facetious jokes and popular songs of what are called "*the low Irish,*" in England, have been composed on similar topics.

Upon the whole, I think it may be fairly presumed that, until this violent and unnatural restraint be removed, there is no probability of improvement, much less reform in the manners of Spain. It is, in fact, a gangrene in the social body, which can never be restored to health, while it is suffered to remain. If the class, to which I allude, were to be converted into husbands and fathers, is it likely they would countenance many practices, which are now said to be even encouraged by them, but which are not less subversive of moral obligations than of religious duties.[*]

If it be a fact which strikes the most superficial observer who visits the continent, that the form of prayer, use of images, pictures, rosaries, banners, processions, and other rites needless to name, have hitherto tended to lead the vulgar mind astray, destroying those notions of the unity of God, which are so indispensable to the purity of religious faith, until they have at length produced an alarming indifference in the great majority of that very vulgar, where is the man, be he priest or layman, prince or bishop, who will lay his hand on his heart, and say this evil ought not to be remedied ?[†]

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[*] Those who contend for the necessity of abrogating the restraints on the marriage of the Catholic Priesthood, assert that these restraints have been the source of every crime that can debase our nature. The execution of a Monk, in 1818, for having first violated his penitent and then murdered her, to conceal his crime, is amongst the numerous facts adduced to prove the above assertion.

[†] Many of the Abbe de Pradt's publications contain allusions, and assertions, by which it is easy to perceive he is amongst those who lament existing abuses, and would, doubtless, be glad to see them corrected. His able work, entitled *Les Quatre Concordats*, is worthy of particular notice, as exposing numerous contradictions and absurdities. See the first Vol: page 173, *et passim,* relative to the numberless exceptions and unnatural privileges of the Pope and Clergy. When a Catholic Bishop

Instead of adding to the odium invariably attached to the invidious task of signalizing errors, whether in politics or religion, by multiplying the instances which have fallen within even my own knowledge, in illustration of the foregoing assertions, I shall merely add that, the more inquiry is extended, the more will their existence be corroborated. It may, however, be proper to observe, that I would not have hazarded the notice of such important and melancholy truths, were it not from a conviction that, so far from transgressing the duties prescribed by the religion of Christ, I am acting in obedience to its dictates and performing an office, which, however thankless in itself, will be, at least secretly, approved by the greatest ornaments of the Catholic Church.

My friend, Mr. Bowring, could not be a silent spectator of the superstitious rites and puerile practices which continue to disgrace religious worship in this country;* his "Sketch of Religion

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can say "*le culte est surcharge de pratiques, comme les Temples le sont d' Images,*" it may be readily conceived that he would willingly say much more, if not restrained by his fears. Had this acute and ingenious writer devoted his prolific pen to the reform of the church, as sedulously as he has attended to politics, he would have done infinitely more good: but this opinion is advanced, without any wish to under-rate the ex-Bishop's political labours.

* Objectionable as are many of the rites practised in Spain, it would be extremely difficult to find one so little consonant to the meekness and simplicity of the christian faith, as that which is

and Literature in Spain," made during a visit to the Peninsula last year, is drawn in his usual style of vivid portraiture: after paying a just tribute to that portion of the clergy, which does not partake the too general character of the priesthood, he thus alludes to the monkish orders: "They live in a state of sensual enjoyment, between the organ-loft and the refectory, to which all other enjoyment is but purgatory: the link which should connect them with the commonweal, for ever broken, the ties of family and friends dissolved, their authority founded on the barbarism and degradation of the people, they are interested in stemming the torrent of improvement in knowledge and liberty, which must, in the end, sweep away these 'cumberers of the soil.'"—Of the practice of christianity, he says, "here we have a religion, if such it may be called, that is purely ceremonial, its duties are not discharged in the

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daily seen in France. I allude to the introduction of soldiery with their arms and band of music into the churches,* during the celebration of high mass. Whether this be done to gratify a love of show, or keep the military spirit of the nation from being extinguished, it is difficult to say; but I feel satisfied that the military occupation of a place of worship, if not disrespectful to religion, has the effect of attracting the attention of the congregation in a particular degree; while the march, or quickstep, to the sound of which the troops retire, is very much calculated to remind one of the Abbé de Pradt's favourite saying;—"From the sublime to the ridiculous, there is but one step!"

daily walk of life; not by the cultivation of pure, and pious, and benevolent affections, but by attending masses, by reciting Paternosters and Avemarias, by pecuniary offerings for souls in purgatory, and by a thousand childish observances, which affect remotely, if they affect at all, the conduct and the character. The Spaniard attends his parish church, to hear a service in an unknown tongue: he bends his knees and beats his bosom at certain sounds familiar to his ear, but not to his sense: he confesses and communicates with undeviating regularity; and, sometimes, perhaps, he listens to a sermon in the eloquent style and beautiful language of his country; not, indeed, instructing him in the moral claims of his religion, but celebrating the virtues and recounting the miracles of some saint or martyr, to whom the day is dedicated. He reads his religious duties, not in a Bible, but in an Almanac; and his Almanac is but a sort of Christian mythology: his Saints are more numerous than the Deities of the Pantheon; and, to say the truth, there are many of them little better: in a word, intolerance in its widest and worst extent, is the foundation on which the Spanish Ecclesiastical edifice rests." It is to be regretted that one who paints so well, and so much to the life, does not enlarge the sketch from which these extracts are taken.

The innumerable evils of every kind under which this country suffered, a few years after the accession of Charles IV, were never more eloquently described, than in a small tract, entitled *Pan y Toros*, attributed to Jovellanos, and from which my friend has given some spirited extracts, very faithfully rendered, in the sketch above cited. I cannot help selecting another in which the effects of superstition and tyranny have been traced with a masterly hand, by the author, whoever he was.* Alluding to religious worship, he says,—"The church has continually laboured to remove from the faithful, all idea of attributing any particular virtue to images; while its members have not ceased to encourage and establish *them*. A figure of Christ or the Virgin is seen in a corner, dirty, neglected and unworshipped; while others pride themselves on expensive spectacles, and do not appear, except with sumptuousness and ceremony. The virgin of Antocha, Almudena, and Soledad, compete with each other for supremacy in miracles, and each has her portions of devotees, who, if not idolaters, are not a whit from being so." Again, "though decrepid and superstitious, we pretend to unchain the soul and understanding; but, ignorance has always engendered superstition, as pride has incredulity. Although the fountain and cement of our belief, the study of the scriptures, has been in a miserable state of abandonment, for many ages; ecclesiastical antiquities have sunk under the weight of the decretals, and other abuses fraudulently introduced. The decisions of law, and individual opinions, have run an equal race with dogmatical and incontrovertible truths. As to the church, it has considered the tribunal of reason as incompetent; treating all those who have not adopted the maxims of Rome, as heretical. The too great liberty of writing in foreign countries, has caused us to be slaves in reading. The culpable contempt with which Protestants have treated the discipline of the church, has determined us to venerate the most ruinous abuses of the barbarous ages. Spain has witnessed thousands of Bishops, who, though loaded with decretals, and forensic formula, never fulfilled the object of their mission; which was no other than to preach the Gospel to all the world, directing mankind in the path of peace, and not by that of contention."

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* This powerful and elegant satire is, by some, attributed to Don Pedro Centeno, an Augustin monk and celebrated writer in the reign of Charles IV.: he was called the Juvenal of Spanish Literature, and fell a victim to the persecutions of the Holy Office. Llorente describes the volume composed by Centeno, in answer to the charges of the Inquisitors, as a model of erudition, eloquence and learning. It is somewhat doubtful, which of these two writers was the author of *Pan y Toros*: I have heard that it is ascribed to Jovellanos, on the same principle that the letters of Junius were to Edmund Burke; that of there being no other contemporary writer equal to such a composition.

In calling your attention to a subject on which I touched above ten years ago, and which has experienced no change in the country then described; nor would it have changed here, but for the insurrection of La Isla; I do not pretend to the merit of originality, or making known any new facts. The most able writers of the last and present century, laymen and divines, from Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin and Knox, to Gregoire, Lanjuinais, Bernabeu and Llorente, have elucidated and inveighed against the abuses of religion so forcibly, that little more is left for others, than to reiterate their objections. The want of success which has hitherto attended the efforts of those writers, is no argument for not returning to the subject; for, as observed by the venerable Bishop of Blois, "the progress of truth may be compared to the encroachments of the sea; every wave, though its influence be unseen, does something to advance the general tide."

Even a circumscribed exposure of the mischiefs arising from the points I have mentioned, would require a separate work; and there is little doubt but such a publication will, one day or another, be added to the stock of European literature: meantime, the best way of removing error, is to stimulate inquiry.

With respect to the great body of the Spanish Clergy, I am happy in this opportunity of declaring that it contains as much learning, virtue and knowledge, as any other in Europe; but, in alluding to general facts, a regard for the interests of truth, obliges me to repeat, that the practices adopted in former days, relative to images, celibacy, temporal power and the appropriation of property, intended for totally different purposes, can only be regarded as an unwarrantable deviation from the rules of the primitive church. As the continuance of error does not consecrate or justify it, there cannot, surely, be any impropriety in urging that whatever remains of the evils thus introduced by vice or ignorance, ought to be removed, if the ministers of the gospel wish to secure esteem for themselves, or fidelity to the religion of their divine master.

I can truly add that, the relaxation, approaching to perfect indifference, which prevails in the middling and higher classes of society in Spain, with respect to the obligations of religion, and a fulfilment of the ordinary duties of worship, is spreading with such rapidity, and gaining over the lowest orders, as to threaten the most serious consequences. It is in vain that volumes are written, to prove scepticism and infidelity have their origin in the works of philosophers, and modern demagogues, if such there be: none but the blind or interested any longer deny that both are to be found in the conduct of the clergy themselves; in their uniform opposition to reform of every kind: in their efforts to perpetuate error, long after it is recognized as such, by the most illiterate of their flocks; in their readiness to co-operate with the tyrants and oppressors of mankind; and, above all, in an universal persuasion that they neither practice nor believe in the doctrines they preach, so implicity, as men ought, who are desirous of convincing others.

The chief ground of hope with those who feel anxious about the future fate of Spain, is founded on the important circumstance of there being a very considerable portion of its clergy who acknowledge the necessity of reform; men who are actuated no less by a just sense of virtue, than by the apprehensions that, as in political matters, if delayed too long, it will have the inevitable effect of bringing those dogmas into total contempt, which may, by a timely restoration to their original purity, become the source of present as well as future felicity.

I have conversed with some of these men, models of probity, meekness and disinterestedness; at once the most irreproachable and enlightened this country has produced. There is not one of them who does not deeply lament the existing state of the church, and who does not sigh for its regeneration. With these men, as with the laics of Spain, who have considered the subject, the use of images, form of prayer, calender of saints, confession, celibacy and absolution, require to be regulated on a different system; and, that much longer to neglect these corner-stones of the christian edifice, will be productive of the most serious consequences to its general security.

While the clerical reformers of Spain admit that if Christ were to come on earth, he could not recognize the structure which his blood had cemented, in the present mis-shapen building, undermined by innumerable errors, and divided against itself; they agree that it would be a triumph worthy of the Redeemer himself, and almost above humanity, were the heads of his church to unite, for the benign purpose of restoring christianity to some portion of its pristine purity: such a measure, in atoning for the millions of our fellow creatures who have been sacrificed through the false zeal of its votaries, would be a signal blessing to the species, leaving but little for the political reformer to effect; for, if mankind were but once impressed with the zeal of true religion, it is impossible that the accumulated vices, which now stand in the way of human improvement, could long continue. It is, therefore, sincerely to be hoped, that neither obloquy, slander, nor persecution will deter the Spanish Pastors, to whom I allude, from leading the way in religious, as their lay brethren have in political reform.

Such men as Gregoire and Llorente, Lanjuinais, and Marina, not to mention many others, equally zealous in the sainted cause of truth, have already done much towards this grand desideratum; let them but persevere, and be consoled in reflecting that they are walking in the steps of the Saviour himself; with this material difference, that the Redeemer and his followers were called upon to convert ignorance and fanaticism, while the religious reformer of the present day addresses men, whose minds are prepared for the reception of the sublimest truth, and whose conduct proves they are unequivocally favourable to reform.*

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* Having mentioned the Bishop of Blois, it would be unjust to pass over so distinguished a name, without adding my humble tribute of admiration, to that which has reached the universal philanthropist and primitive christian, from every quarter of the civilized world; for, where have not his pious and benevolent labours extended? Commencing his career in the genuine spirit of the gospel, one of the Bishop's first productions was, a book in favour of the Jews, in which, to use the expression of a contemporary biographer, he traces the causes of the degenerate character of the sons of Israel to their true source, the unceasing persecution of bigots, misnamed christians; and anticipates, with a benevolence which is the spring of all his feelings, the happiest change in their manners, from the general acknowledgment of their natural rights, in the christian world.* The bright prospect which was opened to France, in the early part of her Revolution, induced him to address a letter to the Bishop of Burgos, Grand-Inquisitor of Spain, pointing out how completely the practice and existence of the Holy Office was opposed to the doctrines of Christ, and supporting his assertions by numerous authorities from the New Testament, Saints and Fathers of the Church. This is amongst the most eloquent and persuasive appeals of the Bishop: many of the passages are prophetic; the following few lines show the opinion of this eloquent divine, on the prevalent failing of his contemporaries of the church: "Great degeneracy must have taken place in the ideas of men, before reaching that expressed by the words Prince Bishop (*Prince Eveque*): will Germany be less Catholic, when her prelates confine themselves to seeking the kingdom of Jesus, which is not of this world?

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* Extracted from a biographical sketch of the Bishop, which has appeared in the Monthly Repository.

Those who complain of a relaxation of morals in Spain, from the facility of breaking through

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will the centre of unity be less known, the Roman Church less flourishing; will its chief be less revered, when the wish expressed three centuries ago, by Laurenzio del Valle, and which was reiterated lately, by an illustrious Italian Bishop,† is accomplished? How is it possible to root up abuses, whilst the successor of St. Peter in poverty is the successor of the temporal grandeur of the Cæsars?" How exactly the Bishop looked into futurity, may be seen by another passage in the same pamphlet: "The human mind has emancipated itself, and cannot retrograde: all those actions in government disavowed by religion and sound policy will be, henceforward, despised. The changes now in progress re-echo through both worlds; they have merely commenced in Europe: their march must be accelerated in proportion to the opposition of those, who, backward in their age, court destruction by the extravagance of folly and their measures. Political society, rising from its ruins, will be re-composed on a new foundation. The Ebro and the Tagus will also have their banks cultivated by the hands of freedom."

The Bishop has lately published a volume, to prove that the Gallician church, if properly administered, is the ally, and not the enemy, of civil liberty. His labours in favour of our African fellow-men, and those efforts which he has made, to check the monstrous abuses of church discipline in France, are not less praiseworthy than his former exertions to stop the progress of irreligion there. For my own part, I want no greater proof of the necessity of religious reform, than in the treatment uniformly experienced by this truly virtuous man, during the

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† Alluding to the celebrated homily of Pius VII. then Bishop of Imola, in which the christian pastor freely canvasses the vices of the church, and proves that the religion of Jesus is not only favourable to, but even enjoins liberty and equality.

the ties which preserve the peace of domestic life in our own country; to the frequency of assassinations for comparatively trifling provocations, should recollect that these and all other aberrations from rectitude, have hitherto found a species of indirect justification, in the practice of giving absolution; as if it were possible for a just and omnipotent God, to

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last eight years, in which he has been an object of continued persecution and calumny; a treatment not less disgraceful to the age, than it is to the parties concerned. Be it said, to their shame, certain laymen, whose political professions must dictate a very different line of conduct, have acted most uncharitably towards the Bishop; and it is scarcely needless to add that his most active and bitter persecutors belong to that sacred calling, of which he is, himself, so great an ornament.

It will form a bright page in the biography of Napoleon, when the historian relates that, but for the stipend allowed to the Bishop of Blois, as one of those Senators who constantly opposed the Emperor's plans of conquest, this Prelate might now *be in want of bread!* Will it be credited that the advisers of *Louis XVIII.* induced their master to withdraw the senatorial pension on his restoration? Nor was it till after a lapse of two years, and the strongest expression of public opinion, that this allowance, guaranteed by Louis himself, in a Proclamation issued at Ghent, could be recovered. Is it thus that the primitive christians, the benefactors of human kind, ought to be treated in the nineteenth century? I have never seen the humility, meekness and charity, which are said to have formed the distinguishing characteristics of the Redeemer's immediate followers so, clearly traced, as in the placid features and resigned air of this exemplary Prelate. Those who want to know what christianity is, ought to hear the venerable Gregoire speak of his most implacable enemies.

delegate a power, which is above all others so calculated to give impunity to vice. On the other hand, what guarantee can there be for female virtue, where the spiritual guide makes a solemn vow to heaven, which he must know it is impossible to fulfil?—a vow which is so frequently made to be broken, not in quarters that are likely to be least affected by its violation, but in those exercising an extensive influence on others; persons, who being themselves taught to regard a deviation from virtue as harmless, do not dream of pointing out its enormity to their sons and daughters.*

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* Although there is every reason to believe that celibacy is one of the last points of church discipline which the sovereign Pontiffs will cede, there is perhaps none upon which the Catholic clergy are so generally agreed. Were it otherwise, the extensive class condemned to this painful alternative, would incur the charge of still greater hypocrisy; for the time has gone by when the most scrupulous amongst them can offer even a plausible excuse for its continuance. As already stated, this subject has been most ably and unanswerably treated in M. Llorente's plan of a religious constitution. This writer has at once decided the question, by proving from various authorities, sacred and profane, that celibacy forms no part of christianity and ought therefore to be abrogated as a continued source of crime, and an act of violence done to nature.

Those who read the tenth chapter of M. Llorente's volume, in which it is so clearly demonstrated that the marriage of the clergy formed an integral part of the primitive church, and was sanctified by the three hundred and eighteen bishops who assembled at Nicea in 325, will hardly pretend that there is any subsequent circumstance which ought to rescind the rules then laid down, The trading spirit, which forms so prominent a feature in the national character, exercising such an immense influence on public morals in other countries, has made comparatively little progress here. It is true no people of Europe have more to reproach themselves with, than the descendants of those who executed the sanguine designs of Ferdinand Cortes and the Holy Office, as much to procure gold as obtain proselytes. If, however, they became bigots and slaves in after times, it did not arise from that thirst of gain, which, in destroying every sentiment of honour and humanity, leads the traders of other nations to commit

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and acted upon till the Pontificate of Gregory VII. in the eleventh century. Nothing but the barbarism and ignorance of the age, could have preserved the Catholic religion amidst the innumerable disorders which succeeded the reign of this pontiff. By a reference to the history of the church, from the period at which celibacy was enforced up to the reformation, one would be almost induced to imagine, that all crimes of which human nature is capable were reserved for the ministers of religion!

I would gladly analyse the portion of M. Llorente's book above alluded to, but look forward to its being circulated amongst the Catholic clergy of the United Kingdom as it has been in the Peninsula. The following Popes are mentioned by the author as having had children, viz:—Pius II., Paul II., Sextus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X., and Paul III.; all of these, says Llorente, were fathers, and all are known for their disorderly and irregular lives: some even for a vice which dare not be named! What will the elegant historian of the Medici family say, when he hears his hero has been so roughly handled by the author of the Critical History?

enormities, scarcely less revolting than the first invaders of South America, while they tamely submit to see their dearest liberties frittered away or abrogated by monsters of their own creation.

If ever so well informed on the subject, I should leave the task of stating the extent of the evil, thus shortly sketched, to other hands: its existence, and the necessity of removing it, is all I contend for; as to those social virtues which do not come so directly in contact with the two grand levers of church discipline, I am borne out in saying they are no where more conspicuous than in the Peninsula. That frankness in commercial dealings, the generosity and kindness to strangers, which mark the national character of Spain, are totally exempt from the motives of vanity and self-interest attributed to the exercise of similar virtues in other countries.

What with the foregoing causes and the fatal example of the court, during the reign of Charles IV., there is no moralist, however rigid, who would not overlook a still greater relaxation of manners, than has unhappily taken place here. Much might also be said on those forms of society and domestic restraints, which so frequently induce parents to consult their personal interests rather than the happiness of their progeny, in the choice of those with whom they are destined to go through life. Often as this important subject has been treated, it is still susceptible of considerable developement. If parents in this country could be persuaded that marriages of interest are for the most part fertile sources of misery and vice, it can hardly be supposed they would sacrifice their offspring to such false calculations as now obtain the ascendancy in family alliances.

If the women of Spain yield to the strongest of all passions, have they not been taught to believe, that neither religious nor moral obligation is thereby infringed? Is not the example of those who are charged with their morals often ready to justify a departure from the path of duty? It would be a libel of the grossest description, for any person acquainted with the noble nature, the kind and generous sympathy, affectionate tenderness, and disinterested attachments of a Spanish female, to say they are not capable of carrying all the virtues of their sex to the highest pitch of excellence. I do not scruple to add, that should a reform in manners follow political regeneration, the women of Spain will be the first to adopt it, as they have ever been foremost in stimulating their natural protectors to shake off the yoke of political servitude.

When improved by education, and emancipated from the baneful effects of superstition, there is no part of Europe in which women are likely to exert a more powerful and salutary influence than Spain. Those who have studied the annals of this country, do not require to be informed of the pre-eminence of women in the days of chivalric gallantry. It has been justly observed that the females of the present day are distinguished by the same qualities which in other times used to throw such a romantic charm over all their actions. Their heroism, during the war of independence, and since the late happy change, will long be a theme of well deserved panegyric throughout Europe. It is in this respect that the women of every other country, not excepting our own, lose amazingly by a comparison with those of the Peninsula.*

It would be no less unjust to say of the men, that those virtues which enabled their forefathers to resist all the efforts of the early invaders, and the proverbial bravery which distinguished the soldiers of the Cid, *Guzman el Bueno*, and *El gran Capitan*, were extinct; for, though cramped through the effects of civil and religious slavery, they have been revived in the present day with redoubled lustre: so true it is that nations do not degenerate without an irresistible cause. Even the legions of the Duke of Alba and of Ferdinand Cortes were models of intrepidity. What a pity that they should have been employed only as instruments of cruelty and oppression! If, instead of plundering and massacring the peaceful inhabitants of the low countries and America, a different direction had been given to those brave men, what might not their leaders have achieved in the path of real glory!

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* A cheering prospect has been opened to the women of Spain by the restoration of liberty. They may well rejoice in a change which will, it is hoped, ere long, restore them to the importance and dignity of their nature; for ever removing a system, which in sacrificing them to pass their days within the walls of a cloister, not only rendered them miserable, but deprived society of its most valuable members. It has been truly said, that if a different impulse were to be given to that enthusiasm and zeal, which enables a female to abandon all the ties which bind her to life, there would be no possibility of limiting the heroism and virtue of those who can thus sacrifice every joy, and stifle the dictates of nature, to perform an act which they have been led to suppose agreeable to the Divinity.

It is not without reason that the Spaniard is accused of indolence; but, as in other defects of the national character, which are the invariable result of an impelling cause, it would be the height of injustice to judge too harshly of the habit which makes him lose several hours in the day in smoking segars, or lolling and lounging in his *capa*, as the effect of natural sloth. Until the late change the people of Spain had no incentives to action; on the contrary every exertion was useless, where there was neither security for person or property. The former history of Spain, no less than those occurrences which marked the late war with France, and the recent revolution, prove how capable they are of undergoing the greatest fatigue, and braving every danger, when a sufficient impulse is given.

There is no country in the world that can furnish a legislator with more abundant materials for forming a great and virtuous nation, than Spain.

Those who are called upon to reconstruct the social edifice here, will find inexhaustible sources of improvement in the physical strength, sobriety, and abstemiousness;* patience under fatigue, and privations of every kind, docility and warm-heartedness of the people; qualities which all the trammels of their gothic institutions and religious prejudices could not destroy. When the great mass of the Spanish population are no longer taught to revere gross errors as divine truths, the work of regeneration will commence and proceed with rapidity.

Much might be said on the difficulty of effecting a reform in manners, while those who exercise such a direct influence on domestic life, acting as oracles to husbands and wives, children and servants, are so apt to abuse the confidence reposed in them. People are in general so ready to give way to their passions, that it requires a strong sense of virtue, continually stimulated by spiritual advice, to restrain their effects in the southern countries of Europe. It is well known that the Edict of Denunciation has extended to every circumstance, however trivial, that passed in families; the effect of such a law, which obliges servants, and even sons or daughters, to declare how their parents are occupied, as well as their own proceedings, need hardly be explained.*

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* It is quite surprising that the Spanish peasantry and soldiery should be in general so strong and hardy, considering the scantiness and nature of their food; consisting chiefly of a coarse bread, onions, chesnuts and garbanzos: their wine, poor in itself, is not much improved by being carried some hundreds of miles in skins. The Spanish soldier and peasant, sitting down with a resigned air and contented visage to his morsel of black bread, an onion or some boiled chesnuts, has often reminded me of the inmates of most Irish cabins, sitting round their *skea hogue*, and repeating an Ave Maria, before attempting to touch their meal of *Redbucks* or *White apples.*

There would be no difficulty, whatever, in persuading those of the Spanish community, who may not have duly considered the subject, that national greatness and the preservation of liberty are connected intimately with, and mainly dependent on, maintaining the honour of their families in tact. It would be equally so to prove, that marriage, instead of being the signal of a dissolute life, and relaxation of virtue, was instituted to prevent profligacy and to promote purity. The benefits which would result from a nicer sense of honour on these points, and an observance of the sacred obligations contracted at the altar, are so obvious as not to require a moment's comment.

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* Notwithstanding the powerful inducements constantly held out to servants, to betray the secrets of their masters, domesticity, (to use a French term) is on a better footing here than in most other countries of Europe. Spanish servants, of both sexes, are generally remarkable for their honesty and fidelity; but this praise is more especially bestowed on the *Gallegos*, or Gallicians, who have long been proverbial for the above qualities. La Borde says, that not less than 80,000 individuals emigrated annually from Galicia to Portugal, where they performed all the offices of servants and porters. The number has decreased considerably of late years.

The familiarity and equality which has always prevailed between servants and their masters in Spain, while the despotism was at its acme, is matter of just surprize to strangers, and deserves a more minute examination than I can undertake to give. It has frequently occurred to me, that this equality, also common to France and Italy, is an additional argument in favour of liberty; at all events, it proves that the system of tyranny and oppression, which had so long weighed down the people of Spain, produced infinitely less effect on the heads of families than might have been expected.

A detailed account of the state of society in the Peninsula, would be a highly interesting source of reflection and amusement; for, there is a degree of originality in the manners and customs of the people, altogether peculiar to themselves: as I merely intend to treat these matters in their relations to political institutions, you must be satisfied with such observations as are likely to convey a few detached notions on the subject, rather than form a finished picture.

I have, in a former letter, alluded to the limited state of information in the higher classes: to trace those causes which have debased the Aristocracy of Spain, and placed many of its members on a level with the peasant and soldier, would, no doubt, be worthy of the most accurate painter of manners, and exceedingly useful to a legislator. If riches, titles and honours, insure no better inheritance to their future possessors, than degeneracy, ignorance and poverty, who would covet either one or the other? It has frequently occurred to me, while inhaling the dust and heat of the Prado, during the broiling autumnal evenings, which have scarcely yet gone by, and marking the long train of carriages which line its avenues, that if the ancestors of those who rode in most of these vehicles, could have foreseen the degraded and effeminate state of their descendants, they would have rejected all the blandishments of fortune, rather than accept them on such humiliating conditions. If there be any truth in the doctrine of compensation, it will certainly be found in the cares and miseries entailed by excessive wealth; while happiness and tranquility await those who are contented with mediocrity.

The ancestors of another class of the great, would have still more to reproach themselves with, if they could have foreseen that fortunes amassed by gallantry in the field, or industry in commerce, would be squandered away on opera dancers, in brothels, and at the gaming-table; night turned into day; and instead of that temperance which formed the ground-work of their own happiness, an indulgence in every excess. A third class might well be shocked, when they contrasted their own humble efforts to aid the people and comunidades of the sixteenth century, in opposing the encroachments of despotism, now dancing attendance at court, coveting its tinsel honours and only ambitious of filling their pockets with the public money. The fact of its being considered that there are no elements for a chamber of Peers, renders it unnecessary for me to say in what light the nobility are regarded.

Priests and lawyers, who compose the second class of society in Spain, are, by far, the best informed, whatever use they may make of their learning. It is unnecessary to say that both exercise an amazing influence on the condition and morals of the people; the former by the example they show, and the precepts they instil; the latter by their power of promoting litigation, and perpetuating the endless abuses of law. Unhappily it has long been a too general maxim with the members of these professions, to consider their interests as totally distinct from those of the people.

If, on the one hand, a regard for the interest of truth obliges me to make these general remarks, it would be injustice, on the other, to deny that there are numbers to be found, not only amongst the grandees, but priests and lawyers, who reflect the highest honour on Spain, as well as on the bodies of which they form a part.

As in other countries, the merchants and tradesmen of Spain are the chief depositaries of virtue, and consequently possess the greatest share of happiness: alike removed from indigence and superfluity, this class seems to be exempted from the vices of those which are above and below its level. Thus it is, that while those who appear to bask in all the sunshine of worldly fortune, are reproached for their pride, indolence, meanness and debauchery; the labourer and the soldier are said to be treacherous, vindictive, jealous and fanatical. If these reproaches be well founded, they are important, as proving that the extremes of wealth and poverty produce nearly the same effects: that they are unnatural, it would not, I should imagine, require much argument to prove.

The Abbé de Pradt has frequently spoken of the great affinity there exists between the people of Spain, and their opposite neighbours of Africa; as if it were a new discovery of his own. There is certainly nothing surprising in this similarity, occasioned by a possession of several hundred years, during which the Moors occupied nearly the whole surface of the Peninsula. As the Abbé's remarks have been received as bad compliments, if not as proofs of ill-nature, by many persons here, it would be worth while inquiring what Spain has lost, by not being more assimilated to Europe? I am inclined to believe the separation has been an advantage to her, and that it will operate as such, in a very eminent degree, while her liberties are consolidating.

What, but the serious and reflective turn imbibed from their Saracenic ancestors, has prevented the people of Spain from encouraging many vices which seem to be indigenous in other countries: neither gambling, *espionnage*, nor prostitution have ever made such an easy progress here as in the rest of Europe; and, if even authorized by the government, I am convinced the most abandoned classes of the Spanish community, would reject such degrading privileges with scorn. Even what are vulgarly called the dregs of the people, seem to have a sense of delicacy in their manner, unknown to many parts of the Continent: those notions of decorum which prevent the Spaniard of both sexes from tolerating many practices, quite common in other countries, is another trait that deserves notice, as it bespeaks an early civilization, long anterior to that of their neighbours, and which all the effects of corruption have not been able to eradicate.

It was a favourite saying of Louis XIV. that there was no longer any Pyrenees, *(Il n'y a plus des Pyrénees;)* this has been frequently repeated since his time, and very lately by the ex-Bishop of Malines. However flattering to both nations, there is too wide a distinction placed by nature between France and Spain, ever to make the above phrase any thing more than a popular figure of speech, so long as a spirit of national independence remains in the Peninsula, and with it a proper sense of national glory; while the people aim at preserving the native originality of their manners, and are proud of a glorious ancestry, so long will the barrier of the Pyrenees remain. Far be it from me to wish, that these should prevent a friendship and intercourse, which are reciprocally advantageous: there is much to be gained, and a great deal of useful knowledge to be acquired from each other: nature has shed her blessings on both countries, with an unsparing hand, nor would it be an uninteresting task to draw a comparison between the moral and physical attributes of two nations, which, though touching each other, are yet so distinct in character, manners and habits.

I ought to have observed, in alluding to the state of knowledge, that considering the obstacles opposed to its progress, by the innumerable defects of education and other causes, it is astonishing to find so much information spread through the inferior classes of the people in Spain. It is rather from long habits of submission to his spiritual guide, that the Spanish peasant has worn his fetters, than from ignorance. I have conversed with many, who, though scarcely ever out of the village which gave them birth, were thoroughly acquainted with the chief sources of the national degradation. With a large share of natural sagacity, it requires very little time to improve this disposition towards acquiring correct notions of their political condition: hence it is, that the soldiers and sailors of the Peninsula are nearly as well informed as those of England and France. There is, however, another very extensive class here which is still more enlightened than either of the former: I allude to the *Arrieros* or Muleteers; of whom there are an immense number in Spain; owing to the want of roads, and mountainous nature of the country. This is a singular intelligent body of men. To these may be added the *Contrabandistás*, or Smugglers, also a numerous association; who, when reclaimed, and brought into habits of regular industry, will be a great acquisition to the moral and physical strength of the nation.

In the common intercourse of life, Spaniards of both sexes are polite and friendly in the extreme: this feeling towards each other, is carried farther than in most countries, and seems to be divested of all affectation. The *Agur* and *Va ya usted con Dios*, salutations used in passing the most perfect strangers, is, doubtless, coeval with christianity,[*] a most amiable practice, and one which ought not therefore to give place to the frigid and selfish forms of foreign courtesy, which are as common to Spain as to other countries.

The general treatment and reception of strangers in Spain, though tinctured with that suspicion, with which the people have been taught to regard each other, bears a most striking contrast with the systematic plan of extortion or incivility practised among the lower and trading classes in most other parts of the Continent. A system which some governments seem to encourage and support, by their neither applying a remedy, nor affording adequate satisfaction, in many cases of flagrant delinquency.

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[*] The *Coma ne dea'ghud*, or God save you, my dear, is also retained amongst the Irish Peasantry. The coincidence of dress, physiognomy, and particular customs between the lower classes of both countries, can arise only from circumstances connected with a common origin. How singular that there should have been so little difference in their political destinies!

Those who travel through Spain, may certainly be plundered of their property by the highway robber; and, as in some instances, assassinated also; but any one acquainted with this country, will agree with me in bearing testimony to the little disposition there is to impose on travellers, or aggravate that imposition by insult and ferocity; the inseparable effect of impunity. The foregoing fact is highly honourable to the Spanish character, and the more remarkable in a country reduced to the last stage of indigence and poverty; excuses, which, bad as they are, cannot be pleaded in any other country of Europe, to an equal extent.*

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* So great is the dearth of accommodation on many of the Spanish roads, that it is as yet advisable for travellers to carry all their resources with them, even to a bed: when, on reaching an *Osteria*, or sleeping place, at night; you may ask for the bill of fare, the answer is, generally, a shrug of the shoulder, with, *no hay nada*, there is nothing: if your inquiries be pushed somewhat further, and it is asked, "what have you got?" they coolly reply, "*lo que usted traiga*," whatever you have brought! The mode of supplying the wants of travellers in Spain, is rather too patriarchal for the taste of modern tourists: the arrival of the Arrieros, and their travelling companions is usually followed by a species of market, held before the door of the Inn. To mend matters, one is reduced to the necessity of becoming his own cook

It has been justly observed, that nations as well as individuals, have a weak point, which neither reflection nor experience can cure: Castilian pride has long been proverbial; and, though so many circumstances have combined to diminish it, since the immortal lessons of Cervantes were first read to his countrymen, there is still enough remaining to exercise the pen of an able satirist, and which is constantly giving rise to the most erroneous views of men and things in various instances. It is true, no people of Europe can look back with more complacency and self-satisfaction, on the history of former days, than those of Spain; teeming as it does with acts of heroism, nothing is more natural than for a Spaniard to forget the cruelties which marked the progress of those chiefs who were spurred on by the double impulse of conquest and religious fanaticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or while contemplating the heroes of Saguntum, Numantia and Zaragoza. A thousand other reminiscences

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and butler. There is, however, a compensation in the witty sallies of the muleteers, who are full of gaiety and humour, passing off every inconvenience in the true spirit of practical philosophy. It not unfrequently happens that one of them places himself on a bench, with his guitar, and continues to touch it to some national song, till supper is announced. A thousand recollections are awakened by this agreeable surprise, of which the charm is greatly heightened, if the moon happens to illuminate the beautiful and unclouded azure of a Spanish sky, in autumn or summer of the Spaniard might be cited, of which he has good reason to be proud; but, like every other passion, national pride is calculated to be injurious, when carried to excess. Here it has sometimes the effect of making men forget the height from which they have fallen, inducing them to despise the wisdom of others, when it might be of infinite service to their future interests. If those who visited the Peninsula, previous to its regeneration, were struck with the disposition to vaunt their superiority over other nations, prevalent with so many persons here, they would be no less so to hear the confident and self-sufficent manner, in which the same class are now to be the exclusive patterns of legislation and political perfection to the rest of Europe. As nothing is more difficult than to induce men to abandon their weaknesses, so would it be impossible to convince a Spaniard, of the above description, that, thanks to priestcraft, legal chicanery, and corruption of every kind, he is no longer what he was in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, before the Holy Office began to spread its noxious influence around, or that the despots of the Austrian Dynasty commenced their ruinous career. Whenever I find myself in contact with these inflated gentlemen, whose bombastic sallies seem to have been copied from the hero of Toboso, I take the liberty of reminding them that national vanity when carried beyond the limits of truth and reason, not only makes men ridiculous, but becomes one of the most formidable barriers to improvement. This is an axiom which is proved by the history of more countries than Spain.*

An excessive attachment to titles, ribbons, crosses, stars, armorial bearings, and all the other appendages of feudal institutions, formed a conspicuous trait in the Spanish character, previous to the late change, and is still cherished by numbers, who have been brought up in the fatal belief, that the honours and rewards earned three hundred years ago, are a sufficient excuse for their own sloth and inactivity. The proofs of this anxiety to derive importance from ancestry, are most conspicuous in Biscay, Asturias and Navarre, where every one lays claim to nobility, and the very cottage doors are surmounted with an immense escutcheon, to ornament which, the whole animal and vegetable world has been put in requisition.†

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* The above cursory remarks are quite as applicable to Italy, as to Spain; and from nearly similar causes.

† The lovers of heraldry would do well to visit those provinces, in which a wide field is open to their researches; there never was such an abundant display of gules and quartering, lions rampant and couchant, tygers, cats, dogs, hawks, pigeons, &c. &c. The chief difficulty I found, was in ascertaining what the animals were meant to represent: it frequently occurred to me that, if interrogated, the artists would, themselves, be somewhat at a loss on this subject.

With respect to the rage for nobility, it was so great, some years ago, that according to the calculation of La Borde—made

The scandalous prostitution of honours and rewards, during the last forty years, in this country, by which riches and titles have been almost exclusively reserved for the most profligate and corrupt of the nation, is, of itself, a sufficient reason for the contempt into which titles and decorations have fallen. These, like laws, become ridiculous or contemptible, when unnecessarily multiplied: their number, and the facility of obtaining them in this country, have produced those very effects; while the extreme poverty into which some of the highest nobility have fallen, from various causes, renders their titles only an additional source of unhappiness. The nobility of Spain would act wisely, by bearing in mind

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in 1788—all the families in Biscay and Asturias, considered themselves as possessing noble blood: in the first named province, there were 116,910 titles, amongst a population of 308,000 souls; while Asturias boasted no less than 114,740, out of 347,766, its total number of inhabitants. It should be observed that titles were formerly to be bought here, as in Italy and Germany. The same writer estimated that there were 119 Grandees, 535 Counts, Marquesses, and Viscounts, making a total of 478,716 nobles. The number of titles has been greatly increased during the reigns of Charles IV., and Ferdinand. The names and titles of the Duke de Medinaceli, as given in a former page, are concise, when compared to some others which I have seen. It would still be considered as an insult if any person were to write the name of Cadiz, Barcelona, or other city, without subjoining the favourite title of *Muy Heroica*, most heroic.

a truth, which is too generally dis-regarded; that titles are respectable only when accompanied by probity and virtue.

There is no doubt but the new state of things will lead to a removal of those propensities and failings, which were purely the result of the late system: when men are occupied by the cares required to preserve their liberties, and learn to live by their own industry, a more exalted train of thought and action will replace those vanities, which are the only privileges enjoyed under despotism: this change has even commenced already and must increase with time!*

While causes, which it would be too tedious to enumerate, have weakened the principle of fair dealing between many individuals of the commercial class to a most lamentable degree, what is called the point of honour, is no where better understood than in Spain; and, although it is feared that many of the Guerilla chiefs are justly reproached with cruelties, which were common to all parties in the war of independence, the officers and soldiery pique themselves on a strict fulfilment of their engagements, and a regard for the duties of humanity, in a degree that could not be imagined by those who judged them from the defective nature of their former institutions. It may be important to observe, that by a decree, promulgated in the reign of Charles III., duelling was prohibited, under pain of death to both parties; disputes have been since decided by a court of honour, in the naval and military professions, and by arbitration in private circles. The establishment of this humane and salutary law proves that, if Spanish legislation had retrograded in some respects, it is nearly a century before that of France and England in the above important point.*

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* The examples shown by the heroes of La Isla, in so peremptorily rejecting the honours offered to them, has had a most salutary effect on the public. The crosses and ribbons bestowed in former reigns, have now been thrown aside for the national cockade, composed of green and white, adopted at San Fernando. The patriots are also said to have formed the resolution of not accepting any more external badges of honour, except those conferred by the representatives of the people, in the form of thanks; this determination is worthy of freemen, who have acquired distinct notions of the dignity of their nature.

The extent of mendicity in Spain ought not to be attributed to any mean or grovelling motive: it arises no less from the proverbial penury of the people, than the example constantly before their eyes, in the mendicant orders; another of those monstruosities that has grown up with the religious establishment; and, by which, beggary is, as it were, sanctified. When the various ways adopted by the monks and priesthood for extorting money from the faithful are considered, no wonder that begging should be regarded as altogether harmless, if not an agreeable pastime; nor is it thought degrading even in persons of rank: to such a state can defective institutions reduce a people! A dowager, or a Knight of Calatrava, St. Hermandad and the Golden Fleece, who solicit alms in Spain, do not think it a derogation from their dignity; and why should they, when it is countenanced by the ministers of religion, who are seen at every door, performing the same office.

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* The regulation with regard to duelling, must have taken place nearly at the same time in Prussia and Spain: I am even inclined to think that Frederic (the Great) was indebted to the Spanish monarch for this valuable hint: I know he entertained the highest opinion of the capability of Spain to become great and powerful.

Next to the legitimacy of begging should be ranked, what is so well known in England by the name of place-hunting. This mania prevails to a degree here, not to be exceeded in any other part of the world: but, like mendicity, it originates in the example of the great: who, while they have been in the habit of engrossing patronage for their own immediate followers, never fail to encourage a crowd of expectants. Those who have attended the ministers' levees during the last three months, and seen the myriads of both sexes who were jostling each other in their antichambers, must have thought that, instead of a reformed government, and the loss of a world, Spain had just recovered her colonies, and added others to her territory. But this, like many other inconveniences, must pass away, when the nature of the late change, and the new position of the nation shall be better understood.

If I do not enter into the minor details of dress, amusements, and particular habits, it is because they are described by much more able hands in various works. You do not require to be told that music and dancing, which are little more than ordinary sources of amusement in other countries, are absolute passions in Spain. While the sweetness and originality of Spanish music are unrivalled, the dances of Spain, divested of their gothic barbarism, have become the most graceful and original of Europe: no wonder, therefore, that the first should solace millions, making them forget the evils of life, while the second alternately acts as a stimulas to war, and all the kinder sympathies of our nature.

Though gloomy and unfavourable to manufactures, the national costume of the women is extremely fascinating, while it preserves their nationality; and would, perhaps, be ill exchanged for one, which cannot fail to lead them into the caprice and vanity of dress so conspicuous in other countries. Many absurdities of dress and gait, by which young persons make themselves contemptibly conspicuous in the north of Europe, have not yet made much progress here: and we may hope that if there be no Pyrenees for science, literature, commerce, and the useful arts, they will, at least, continue to form an insuperable barrier to the fripperies and follies of dress and fashion.[*]

The inordinate use of snuff and tobacco has been carried so far in Spain, that it is ranked amongst the vices of the people: perhaps there is some truth in the censure, if the inutility of either, in respect to health, be considered.[†] Leaving the men to derive all the consolation they can from this inveterate habit, I hope to be excused for expressing my regret that it should have taken such deep root amongst the women of Spain. Why should that lovely sex have recourse to a custom, that is really injurious to their more delicate frames; while in rendering them less agreeable, it diminishes the influence they ought to possess over us. I am sure there are very few of those to whom I now appeal, who would not readily give up the *Pajita*[‡] and snuff-box, if told by their medical adviser, that both one and the other were causes of pale complexions and decayed teeth.

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[*] The absurd practice of wearing ear-rings, though still so prevalent, is not so peculiar to the males of Spain as to those of neighbouring countries. Such is the force of prejudice, that it would be impossible to persuade many men of rank and education on the Continent, this effeminate appendage is not exceedingly useful to the sight!

[†] It is scarcely necessary to say that, like all other excesses, those of smoking and taking snuff cause a positive injury to the health, and consequently shorten life.

[‡] This is composed of a milder tobacco than that used for segars, and by way of gilding the pill, covered with the straw of the Indian corn.

Amongst the practices which tend to retard civilization, and keep alive whatever ferocity of character the people of Spain may have derived from their Roman and Moorish ancestors, the continuance of the *Fiéstas Dé Toros*, or bull-feasts, is justly regarded as the most conspicuous. The toleration of the above amusement, only inferior in barbarity to those exhibited before the ancient masters of the world, has long been a subject of the utmost regret with all liberal and enlightened Spaniards. Jovellanos, in his erudite and philosophical essay on public amusements, deeply laments a custom, in which only a small portion of the nation participates, though it is called national; and, as such, has long been an object of just odium with foreigners.*

The essay on games and amusements is characterized by the same accurate delineation and profound research, which so eminently distinguish all the writings of a writer, who never took up his pen but to instruct and improve mankind: it was written in 1790, at the request of the Council of Castile, and through the Academy of History, of which Jovellanos was the greatest ornament. The first section commences with the pastimes of the earliest ages, when hunting was the only recreation: the author proceeds successively to notice the romerias, sacred dramas, tournaments and bull-feasts.

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* Nothing could be more ill-timed, or so truly in the spirit of bad taste, as celebrating the restoration of liberty with these inhuman sights. It would, indeed, be difficult to name any greater error of the provisional government, than not declaring the bull-feasts incompatible with the manners of a free and civilized people; and thus making their abolition coeval with the establishment of freedom. If policy prevented an immediate discontinuance, there were other means of amusing the populace and preparing games somewhat more analogous to that happy occasion, and the new institutions. Some positive decla-

Jovellanos seems to have been a passionate admirer of tournaments, and chivalry in general; as having had a great tendency to correct the barbarous effects of monkish institutions; also, in preventing the nobility from degenerating into the sloth and effeminacy, which have since overtaken them; he gives a fascinating account of those brilliant spectacles in the reigns of Alfonso

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ration on this subject ought, consequently, to have been amongst the first of these measures adopted by the Constitutional Government. Bull-feasts were not objects of any particular predilection and patronage of the Court, before the eleventh century. Pope Pius V., issued a brief against them in 1567; but this was revoked by Clement VIII., ten years afterwards; since which time, they have continued to disgrace the public exhibitions of the Peninsula. The only saving clause in this barbarous pastime is, that a portion of the profits from them is devoted to the wants of the hospitals.

and Juan II. when women exercised such a salutary influence on the ferocious nature of the times. Like every thing else that was calculated to enlighten the people, or promote public spirit, the tournaments were also impeded by the priesthood, who began, by depriving those who fell, of christian burial; so that they ceased altogether on the accession of the Austrian dynasty. By this, says Jovellanos, the people lost their principal source of entertainment, and our Nobles their first stimulus to elevation of sentiment and character. The substitution of Autos-de-Fé for tournaments, was certainly worthy of those by whom it was devised!

Without attempting to justify the barbarism with which the spectacles of chivalry were more or less disfigured, the author conceives that their affinity to the public duties of the aristocracy, which was charged with the perservation of liberty in those days, rendered their discontinuance a real calamity: they were, in fact, closely connected with public education, such as it was. Comparing tournaments with the mercenary amusements of more modern times, Jovellanos asks if there are any of the latter which exercise the remotest influence on the education of the people.

The establishment of bull-feasts is traced to the middle ages, and is certainly not worthy of any other period. These horrid exhibitions are pointedly decried by the Spanish philosopher, as being disgraceful to the age and to Spain. It would appear that Isabella, who also opposed the cruelties of the Holy Office, did her utmost to abolish the Toros, but was foiled by her courtiers.[*] A just tribute of applause is paid to Charles III. for having dereed their total abolition; but, as they had become identified with despotism previous to his reign, it is probable the ministers of his son and successor could not dispense with a pastime which brutalized his subjects, and excluded rational thinking. After observing that not one hundredth part of the population had witnessed the performance of these feasts, the author asks why they should be called national?[†] His other arguments in favour of their immediate suspension, were so strong, that the Council of Castile would, no doubt, have acceded to his suggestions, had they not regarded their continuance as a necessary auxiliary of tyranny.[‡]

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[*] One mode of reconciling the Queen was, by covering the horns of the animals, so as to prevent them from injuring the Toreros, or combatants.

[†] Madrid, Cadiz, Barcelona, Valencia, Pamplona, and a few other cities, are the only places in which bull-feasts are exhibited.

[‡] The author of *Pan y Toros* devotes his concluding pages to an ironical panegyric of the bull-feasts; in which they are described with the greatest exactness. If the cultivated Greeks, says he, "invented Tragedy, to purge the soul of its meaner passions of terror and cowardice, accustoming the citizens to see and hear frightful things, the cultivated Spaniards have invented bull-feasts, in which are seen in reality, more than the

The first part of the essay closes with an eloquent exposition of the degraded state to which

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former represented in dumb show. Who, that is accustomed to see a Torero rushing between the horns of a bull, which had been already pierced, training his entrails along, and irrigating the arena with his blood; a wounded horse precipitating his rider, and then falling, to struggle in the agonies of death; a platoon of terrified combatants flying from the maddened animal, upon which they had just fastened a *Banderillo*;* the tumultuous cries of innumerable voices, mixed with the hoarse whistling and astounding echoes of warlike instruments, augmenting the confusion? Who, I ask, after seeing all this, would reject a challenge, or refuse to be present in battle? Who, in seeing an immense assemblage, to which the rod that threatens it with the stripes of slavery is presented, when most liberty is conceded, can be afterwards surprised at the oppression of the citizens? Who can doubt the wisdom of government, which to appease all spirit of sedition in the people, collects them on a spot most adapted to disorder? Who can fail to conceive sublime ideas of our nobles, labouring to arrange these barbarous spectacles; honouring the Toreros; rewarding and encouraging folly and dissipation; contending with each other to protect the most vile of the community? Who is not delighted at the meeting of such a multitude, where both sexes mingle without any reserve; the tavern-keeper with the grandee; the barber with the duke; the procuress with the matron, and the layman with the priest: where luxury, dissoluteness and impudence, libertinism and audacity, buffoonery and stupidity; in a word, all the vices that disgrace humanity and reason, seem to be concentrated, as if it were on the very the Spanish drama, and theatrical representation were reduced, thirty years ago. For my own part, says Jovellanos, "I am persuaded there is no more decisive proof of the corruption of our taste,

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* This is composed of artificial fire-works, worked round an iron hook, which is thrown on the beasts haunches or sides, and soon after explodes. Surely the Torero must have taken a leaf from the book of the Holy Office.

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throne of their power; where the lascivious *petit-maitre* is making signs to the incautious damsel, with indecorous innuendos and improper expressions: where the degraded husband permits his wife to be seated by the side of her *cortejo*;* where the pimp and bully display their insolence and depravity; where the noise and confusion are sufficient to astound the best organized head; where the odour of wine and the fumes of tobacco, aided by dust and heat, create suffocation? Who does not recognize the innumerable benefits of these feasts? Without them, the tailor, smith and shoemaker, would be forced to pass their Mondays at the anvil, shopboard and last: mothers would not be able to abandon their homes, and leave their children exposed to the advances of some designing suitor; they would also want the most ready market for virtue and honesty. Doctors, the most fertile garden for diseases; married men, a source of dishonour and disgust; women, the means of exposing their prodigality and ignorance; ecclesiastics, an incentive to expend the price of sins on sinners; reflecting minds, the most perfect compendium of human weakness; magistrates, the means of lulling and enervating every idea of civil liberty. It is at these feasts that the politician can best admire the insensibility of a people, who, treated as slaves, as in every other place, have never thought of shaking off the yoke, even when the inadvertence of government has afforded them an opportunity."—After enumerating the various other advantages of bull-feasts, the author concludes; "Happy Spain! Beloved Country! Continue to be thus distinguished from all the other nations of the earth. Happy, in shutting your ears to the cavilling of philosophers, open them and the depravity of our actions, than the cold indifference with which we suffer dramas to be represented, in which modesty, charity, good faith, decorum and all the virtues, wherein every principle of wholesome morality, and all the maxims of good education, are openly trampled under foot!"

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* This term corresponds to the *Cisisbeo* of Italy.

The present legislators of Spain, cannot do better than study the second part of this valuable essay it is replete with noble sentiments, and contains many hints for the reform of public games, which the author was desirous of making generally subservient to improving the moral and physical habits of the people. Deploring the numerous obstacles opposed to the happiness of the peasantry, and their listless mode of life, he asks,—"how does it happen, that most of the inhabitants in our towns have no amusement whatever. The traveller who has visited our provinces, must

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only to the wise sophisms of your clerical doctors! Happy art thou! Content with thine own lot, without envying that of others, and accustomed to govern no one, obey every body! Be happy in having discovered that merit and virtue have been conferred only on the Hidalgos, and that it is impossible for any one to possess either, who has not had a Don amongst his ancestors. Pursue this enlightened and prosperous path, to be, as thou art, the *ne plus ultra* of the fanaticism of ages; despise as thou hast hitherto done, the invidious babbling of envious foreigners; abominate their turbulent maxims, condemn their liberal opinions; prohibit their books, which have not escaped the holy index, and sleep tranquilly in the agreeable lulling of the hisses with which they mock thee!"

have made this melancholy remark. During the greatest festivals, instead of that gaiety and joyous tumult, which shows the contentment of the people, a careless inactivity and still silence reigns in the streets and market places of all our towns and villages, which it is impossible to witness without pity and regret. If a few leave their houses, nothing but tedium and idleness has driven them out: even then, they are mostly seen muffled up in their cloaks, lounging about the market place, without object or end: stretched along the ground, near the oratory or church portico, they pass their melancholy hours, and whole evenings, without pastimes or amusements of any descripton. If to this be added the filth, poverty and slovenliness of the inhabitants, their silent and sorrowful air; that sloth, want of union and movement seen in every direction; how is it possible to avoid being deeply affected by such a sad phenomenon?"*

Although he wrote for the Council of Castile, this did not prevent Jovellanos from attributing the above wretched state of the population, and their paucity of amusement, to the laws and absurd restrictions of the police, priesthood, and municipalities; by which the people were reduced to the necessity either of giving up their pastimes altogether, or performing them under such restraints, as to destroy all enjoyment. It was bold in a Spanish writer of the despotic period in which he wrote, to say, the state of liberty was a state of peace, convenience, comfort and gaiety; while that of subjection was one of violence, disgust and agitation; consequently, observes the philosopher, the first is durable, the second exposed to vicissitude and mutation. It is not enough that people should be quiet and resigned, they must be contented: those only who possess unfeeling hearts, or vacant heads, and are totally destitute of humanity, will dream of aspiring to the first, without establishing the second. It will be said that every one submits: yes, they do; but they do so with a very bad grace: all suffer; but who is there that does not dread the consequences of such long and continued suffering?

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* One would imagine that Jovellanos had been describing the villages of Ireland, instead of those of Spain!

The reflections which follow are worthy of the writer, and full of the soundest philosophy, put forth in his best style. Rules are proposed for the magistrates charged with superintending public games; to which Jovellanos applies the maxim recommended by political economists in trade; that all the public require is, not that the government should amuse, but allow the people full liberty to amuse themselves.

The author's observations on theatrical representations, are no less applicable to other countries than to Spain: he attributes the degeneracy of the Spanish stage to want of attention on the part of government, which had left its management in the hands of selfish managers, bad actors, and ignorant writers. It was the opinion of this acute observer, that the depraved taste and corruption of the stage had exercised a powerful influence on the manners of Spain, and he therefore calls upon her rulers to prefer moral good to pecuniary considerations. He recommends the withdrawing from the stage nearly all the comedies then in use, and also giving greater encouragement to actors and dramatic writers; particularising defects, and proposing corresponding remedies. Although many of his most important suggestions await the attention of a paternal government, it is evident he has not written in vain. Moratin, Gorostiza, and many others have largely profited by the hints of Jovellanos; while the diffusion of knowledge, and consequent refinement in manners, will render the great work of theatrical reform less difficult daily.

The unexpected length into which the foregoing inquiry has insensibly led me, scarcely allows the privilege of adding a few remarks on the Spanish capital. The circumscribed population of Madrid, resulting no less from its unfavourable position for commerce, than the system of government, which has been such as has gradully diminished the number of inhabitants in all the cities of Spain,* during the last three hundred years, though regarded as a calamity by a certain class of reasoners, is considered a blessing by others, and will always operate most favourably for the interests of freedom as well as morals. Although it is not my intention either to inquire into, or dwell on the effects which an overgrown capital must, necessarily, have on the civil and political destinies of a nation, I cannot help congratulating the people of this country on the circumstance of there being so small a portion, out of the whole population, to corrupt in the capital: the advantages arising from this circumstance, must be obvious to those who reflect on the influence exercised by other European capitals. Leaving it for the legislator and statesman to decide how far it may be wise or politic to establish the seat of Government, as in North America, at a distance from those means of corruption, which cannot fail to have a considerable influence on its measures and general policy, I do not think Spain would derive any advantage from a change in the position of its metropolis.

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* The number of inhabitants in Madrid, does not much exceed one hundred and eighty thousand: Barcelona, Cadiz, and Valencia, are the next in order, as to population.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that you may here look in vain for the degree of luxury and refinement which is seen in Paris and London; it is but fair to add that, you would be equally disappointed in seeking for the misery and vice of those cities. It is true, the contrast of luxury and poverty, pride and subjection, is quite as glaring; but there can be no comparison between the extent of human vice practised in so small a space, and that which gives the two grand emporiums of

European civilization such a frightful pre-eminence over contemporary capitals. As nearly the whole population derive either existence, or very considerable advantages from the court, and the numerous portion of the clergy established here, they are naturally less affected by that display of wealth and pride, which, in placing such an eternal barrier between the members of the same community, seems to operate as a continual reproach on the subject many.

Under existing circumstances, experience has proved, that though much slower in declaring itself than the provinces, a patriotic impulse once given, the populace of Madrid have shown that they also know how to appreciate the blessings of liberty.

Although the want of water and a running stream is severely felt, the position of Madrid is highly favourable to salubrity; it is even said to be in point of pure air, one of the most healthy spots in Spain. The same paucity of comfort and convenience experienced in most continental capitals, is also very conspicuous here, but not in so great a degree: the streets being generally wider, and furnished with a small flag pavement on each side for foot passengers: they are also kept remarkably clean, a circumstance that is exceedingly neglected in other towns.[*]

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[*] The hotels of Madrid, though still deficient in all that constitutes the comfort and convenience of an English inn, are yet not

There has been but little done towards the embellishment or improvement of Madrid since the reign of Charles III.; that monarch did more in both these respects, than all his predecessors together: so much is it in the power of a paternal prince to confer benefits on his subjects! The Royal Palace,* National Bank, Printing establishment, Custom-house, Post-office, various hospitals, academies, prisons, triumphal arches at the principal entrances, public walks ornamented with fountains and statuary, all form so many monuments to perpetuate the memory of this sovereign.

It is a singular fact, that, out of the hundred and forty-six churches and nearly as many convents that adorn the city, there is not one with any peculiar pretensions to architectural beauty.

Although greatly reduced in the number and value of the objects they formerly contained, the

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inferior to those of most other continental capitals. It is also but an act of justice to say that, as in other countries, there is not one set of charges for natives, and another for strangers. The double sets of keys, and direct influence of the police over porters and servants is also unknown at Madrid.

* This splendid edifice was, no doubt, suggested by Louis XIV. whose fondness for building, was so often displayed in his own dominions: it had, however, made very little progress till the reign of Charles III, and is still incomplete: it may justly be ranked amongst the most sumptuous Royal residences in Europe. The lower apartments are appropriated to the public offices of the ministers; an excellent idea, which adds greatly to the unity and activity of the executive government. Besides the

museums, galleries and library of Madrid are still worthy of a much larger metropolis, and, as in France, accessible to the public of every class and distinction. If the books and manuscripts which are mouldering on the shelves of convents and other useless receptacles were collected, Spain could boast an excellent national library. The law which obliges publishers and authors to deposit a copy of every new work in the present establishment, is highly favorable to the spirit of inquiry now becoming so general.

Though the Palace is badly situated, being much lower than the other parts of Madrid, its terrace commands an agreeable view of the Retiro and Manzanares, which winds through a deep valley close to the city; this view extends over an irregular plain of many miles, to the lofty range of Guadarama, which rises in majestic elevation,

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country palaces of the Escurial, San Ildefonso, Aranjuez, La Granja and el Pardo, very large sums have been expended on a Chinese palace or Pagoda, built on Las Delicias since the return of Ferdinand. As this non-descript palace is the first object that strikes the eye of a traveller, on entering the Puerto de Alcala, he would be apt to imagine he was approaching an Eastern city; but this illusion, which the late system of government was not much calculated to dissipate, is now somewhat removed, on passing the barrier, where some emblem of the constitutional regime presents itself. I have not been able to discover where Ferdinand acquired his taste for oriental architecture. Ferdinand of Sicily has also his Pagoda in *La Favorita*, noticed in my account of Palermo.

within a few leagues of the capital, producing a grand effect at all seasons, whether covered with snow, which seldom melts before the end of June, or when reflecting its broad shadows on the intermediate plains.

The extremes of heat and cold are felt more intensely here than in any other part of Spain; this arises from various causes: amongst others, the dryness of the soil, elevation above the level of the sea, (2500 feet,) and exposed situation; so that the north winds blowing from the range of Guadarama are not less piercing, than that of the south in summer and autumn are oppressive and suffocating; but neither excessive heat or cold are of long continuance.

Conformably to the general system hitherto adopted in Europe, the principal groups of the Prado, and *las Delicias* adjoining it, are selected from the heathen mythology. If the lovers of *virtu* could be prevailed on to give up a few of their gods and goddesses, Pans, Satyrs and other indescribables, which salute the eye in those places, sacred to recreation or reflection, it would, perhaps, be advisable to introduce a few subjects taken from the historical events of the Peninsula. It is certain that nothing likely to inspire a love of freedom, national glory and virtue amongst the citizens, should be neglected by a constitutional and reforming government.

The amusements of Madrid are chiefly divided between bull-feasts, theatres, processions and the public gardens: the want of shade, which is even found to a certain degree in the Prado, prevails so generally in the vicinity, that the people seldom look for pleasure or amusement outside the walls. The *Tertulias*, or evening parti[illegible]re frequent, and conducted in the same easy, unreserved manner as those of Paris.

The theatres, those of *El Principe* and *La Cruz* have always been thought sufficient to gratify the thirst for scenic representation: their construction is eminently favourable to the object in view, that of enabling the actors to make themselves heard without an effort, that often destroys the effect intended to be produced, and to afford the audience an opportunity of seeing what passes on the stage. The accommodation and arrangement, by which all possibility of accident and confusion is prevented in a Spanish Theatre, might well be imitated by the architects or enforced by the magistracy of other countries.*

La Plaza de Toros, or Theatre for bull-feasts, is constructed close to the Puerto de Alcala; it is on the plan of a Romon amphitheatre, and capable of containing twelve thousand spectators: the exhibitions of bull-feasts usually take place during the summer months.

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* The non-admission of females into the pit in France and Italy, as well as in Spain and Portugal, is a singular custom, that does not seem by any means in unison with the politeness and freedom of manners prevalent in these countries.

It is to be regretted that a more elevated spot was not chosen for the Prado, which is not, however, without its advantages, having an immediate communication with the city on one side, and with the botanic gardens and *Delicias* on the other. If more frequently watered in summer, that dust and heat which are so annoying at present, would be mitigated. These circumstances, however, do not prevent the Prado from being as well attended now, as at all former periods from the days of Calderon—who found many of the subjects of his most popular plays on this Madrilenian Paradise—till now, when it serves as the resort of all who wish to breathe a free air, or offer up their vows at the shrine of beauty.

Besides the immense concourse which occupies the *Salon* or centre walk of El Prado, there are spacious alleys and roads on each side, for equestrians and carriages; the latter of which, drawn by horses or mules, move on in slow and solemn pace on the left. As this is the grand point of attraction, the Madrid fashionables seldom take any other direction in their evening rides. It is a rule seldom deviated from, for the Royal family to join the range of carriages collected at the Prado, whenever they leave the palace, which is almost daily. Agreeably to the court etiquette of former days, there are generally four or five state carriages, either occupied by, or in attendance on the Royal Family, when they appear in public; these are followed by a numerous suite of outriders, and a large party of the mounted body guard. When the new institutions have taken somewhat deeper root, this pomp and show, so needless for any purpose of utility, and a source of considerable expence, will, no doubt, give place to a greater degree of simplicity; as the most ignorant classes are no longer imposed on by these remnants of despotism and feudal grandeur, the sooner they cease the better for all parties.

Notwithstanding the number of days set aside for processions and other rites, and which have been hitherto so injurious to the industry of the people, it is worthy to remark that Sunday is observed with great decorum throughout the Peninsula.

The internal police of the capital is confided to the Municipality, and a number of Alcaldes: watchmen, who parade the streets at night, and cry the hour as in England, were amongst the provident establishments of Charles III.*

It is highly probable that a considerable change will be effected in the amusements of the capital; as the metropolis of every country is looked up to for an example, it is hoped the melioration likely to take place here, will be such as the provincial towns can imitate, without militating against the interests of religion and morality. Should it be thought necessary to reduce the number of churches, so as to bear a rational proportion to the population, let them not be converted into granaries, stables and coach houses, as in France: when a church or convent cannot be appropriated to education, or turned into an hospital, it is far better to rase it to the ground, than suffer it to be applied to purposes which have done such incalculable mischief to religion and morals in neighbouring countries. What, indeed, can be a greater proof of carelessness and indifference in the pastors of christianity, than suffering places which had been consecrated, to be disfigured and mutilated, as they are at Paris?* I would also suggest, that if any new temples are commenced, they ought not to be left half constructed, thus showing a palpable want of respect to the divinity. Those who have travelled on the continent, must have been often struck by the excessive neglect shown on this subject. Should the number of processions be reduced within reasonable bounds, and divested of their numerous puerilities, they will be rendered serviceable to the interests of religion, instead of bringing it into contempt.*

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* The practice of burying the dead within the precincts of the city, and thus creating a focus of corruption in the midst of the living, has been long abolished in Spain; a scrupulous adherence to the laws on this subject was particularly insisted upon by the ministers of Charles III.

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* The unfinished state of the finest public edifices of France, has doubtless, arisen from the peculiar circumstances of the country during the revolution, and from the subsequent events. It is quite lamentable to see such sumptuous edifices as St. Sulpice and St. Eustache, la Madelaine, &c. not only left with one tower, but so degraded by the shops and stalls of various descriptions built up against their very walls, that it is impossible to form any distinct notion of their real form. It is equally to be regretted, that some more strict regulations were not made for preventing other practices in the French capital, which hourly shock the eye of delicacy and decorum, and are not confined to the immediate vicinity of the temples of religion, but overspread the whole city. I should imagine that Paris is the only city of Europe in which a store for bottles could be kept within the wall that enclosed the front of one of its most conspicuous temples. The same sacred spot has often served for a coach-stand. Such evi-

If a Bull from the Sovereign Pontiff proscribe the Toros, (nothing less will ever reconcile the grandees and nobility to this privation,) it would be a pity to destroy the amphitheatre; why not convert it into an arena for public games, calculated to brace the nerves of the citizen, who has hitherto devoted two thirds of his existence to eating, drinking, smoking segars, and the *Siesta*? Should this ever take place, the change of pastimes, thus suggested, might be rendered eminently use-

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dent proofs of disrespect to places of religious worship, as suffering their porticos to be impeded by cripples and beggars, making them the scene of military pageants, the observance of the Sabbath, and many other practices, ought surely to occupy the attention of the French clergy. I know that those pratices are not less condemned by the majority of the nation, than by foreigners, and, like many other imperfections in the internal police of France, will, doubtless, be an object of solicitude with those who are likely to succeed the present ministers of that country.

* La Borde says, that there were no less than two hundred and seventy holidays in Spain, at the time he visited this country.

ful to liberty; for even now, as in the time of Jovellanos, where is there a single public game in Spain, that is calculated to inspire a love of freedom, or has any relation to that first of human blessings?

Perhaps it would be vain to expect a thorough reform on the Spanish stage, until an improvement in the various other institutions of the country produce such refinement and good taste in the audience, that they will reject every effort of an author or actor to amuse them, at the expence of public morals and decorum.

I do not pretend to point out a hundredth part of what might be said on the means of improving the Spanish capital; a beneficent Prince, and a reforming Cortes, aided by a provident and active Magistracy, will find the time they may devote to an improvement in the construction of private houses, prisons, hospitals, and other public establishments, as well as that which can be employed in the correction of manners and refinement of public taste, amply repaid; and surely they cannot be more usefully engaged than in purifying and perfecting that part of the social body, which has been, not inaptly, compared to the heart, in physical existence, as the grand centre, whence flows the blood destined to give vigour, strength and animation to the whole frame.

In accounting for the want of principle and relaxation of manners, observable in some countries of Europe, it is of the utmost importance to examine the more secret springs which have been operating so powerfully on the human mind; and more especially those incredible doctrines attributed to the followers of Loyola, as exposed and set forth in their famous *Monita Secreta*, and so ably commented on by Pascal in his *Lettres Provinciales.* When these horrible principles, and the tarif of prices for murder and every other crime, as established in the 12th and 13th centuries, are considered; as, also, the numerous cases in which the most atrocious deeds were justified according to the moral and religious code of the monkish orders and priesthood, surely the wonder is not so much why principles are weakened and manners relaxed, as that a shadow of virtue should remain amongst nations exposed to the influence of such precepts!

If, however, the society to which I allude, become a source of incalculable mischief to morals, it cannot be denied, that they rendered considerable services to learning and the arts; but, can praise be deserved, where morality has no share in our motives?

LETTER XV.

LITERATURE and LEARNED MEN.—Influence of the Holy Office on Letters and Sciences.—System of Exclusion and Persecution: its effect on Literature.—Change under Louis XIV. and Philip V.—FEIJOO and *Mayans*.—Ferdinand VI.—Charles III.—Progress of Letters in his Reign.—Poets and Prose Writers.—Literary Men employed as Ministers and Consuls.—Isla; Campomanes; Jovellanos: his Biography: Florida Blanca: Count de Cabarrus.—Living Writers of Spain: Lardizabal: Toribo Nunez: Cambronero: Herreros: Salas: Cabrera: Hermosilla: Reinoso: Vascons: O'Farril: Andujar: Moratin: Gorostiza: Conde: Bowring: Quintana: Cienfuegos: Martinez de la Rosa: Savinon: Minano: Florez Estrada: Puigblanch, &c.—Marina and Llorente: some account of the latter.—Praiseworthy Conduct of the Spanish Poets.—Present tendency of Literature.—Taste for French Literature.—Severity of the Inquisition towards English Writers.—Bacon and Locke.—The Study and Cultivation of British Literature recommended. English Writers known only to a few in Spain.—Milton: Escoiquiz: Pope: Trigueros, and Mr. Bentham.—Works of Fiction.—Precautions recommended.—Periodical Literature.—*El Censor: La Miscellanea.*—M. Cambronero.—M. de Mora.—*El Constitutional*, and *La Minerva Nacional.*—Irreproachable Conduct of Public Writers.—An Exception.—State of the Fine Arts: Raphael Mengs.—Barbarous Taste of Former Times.—Innovations Suggested.—Alvarez.—Madrazo.—Advantage to the Patriotic Government of Encouraging the Fine Arts.

Madrid, October, 1820.

THE gigantic arm of the Holy Office was not confined to striking at the root of religion and morals; its uniform persecution of literature and learned men, was but too successful in checking the flame of genius which burst forth in the fifteenth century, under the auspices of Ferdinand and Isabella; and which, had it not been for this fatal influence, must have given Spain the same pre-eminence in arts and science, which she attained in war and conquest.

With so much native talent, and inheriting the richest stores of Roman and Arabic learning, those treasures, consequent to the discovery of America, opened a field for the display of knowledge and developement of civilization, that would have known no bounds, were it not for the interposition of a tribunal, whose first establishment was signalized by declaring an implacable warfare against all those who made the slightest movement in favour of truth and liberty. As there was no rule of the Inquisition so rigidly adhered to, as the above, it ceases to be matter of surprise, that every writer, whether laic or churchman, however exalted in rank, or pre-eminent in virtue, who attempted to infringe its arbitrary dicta, during the domination of the Austrian dynasty, became an object of hatred and persecution.

While occupied in suppresing every gleam of light at home, the Inquisitors were not less active in excluding it from without; and to such an extent were the prohibitions on foreign literature carried, that whatever related to discoveries in physical science, astronomy or mathematics, experienced the same opposition as the works of Toland, Hobbes, and Locke, or of Voltaire, D'Alembert and Rousseau in more recent times.*

A Spanish writer, alluding to the effect produced by the Holy Office, says, literature, taste and science had degenerated to such a degree, at the commencement of last century, that nothing more than a confused recollection of what they had once been, remained. It is by comparing the state of Spain, in the above-named epoch, when it boasted a much larger share of genius and refinement than either England or France, with those two countries, on the accession of Philip V. that some notion may be formed of what Spain has lost in the scale of intellect and improvement, through the tyranny of the Inquisition.†

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* A most ridiculous anomaly regarding the papal prohibitions of books is, that the very *Index* or Catalogue of Prohibited Books, is, itself, a prohibited book!

† It is a remarkable and melancholy fact, connected with the history of Spain, that her most celebrated writers, and renowned warriors have been the victims of priestcraft or courtly ingratitude. The fate of Columbus, Ferdinand Cortes, Cervantes, and a thousand others, might be cited to prove how virtue, learning and genius have been objects of persecution here, during the last three hundred years. It must be known to the readers of Spanish history, that when the innocence of Columbus and Cortes (who only obeyed the letter of his instructions) was recognized, that is to say, after their deaths had somewhat blunted the hatred, and abated the jealousy of their enemies, a provision for their heirs and successors was drawn from grants of land in the colonies which they had either discovered or established. As there is not much probability of Spain ever recovering a rood of ground in

The suspension of the sacred tribunal, during the war of succession, and change of Dynasty, produced a most salutary effect; for, although the despotism of Louis XIV. was fully equal to that of the Austrian race of Spanish Kings, there had been no Inquisition to extinguish knowledge in France while Louis fed his own vanity, and imposed on the credulous admiration of surrounding sovereigns and their subjects, by appearing to conceal the vices of his government in the encouragement of science, and subsidizing the mercenary adulation of literature.* The establishment

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the new world, the descendants of the discoverer and conqueror of America, must now pass their days in comparative poverty if the national congress does not provide for them. Such has been the result of public service rendered to Spain! It is not, perhaps, generally known, that the Dukes of Monteleone in Naples, the heirs of Ferdinand Cortes, have been deprived of a great portion of the estates originally granted in Mexico to their celebrated ancestor.

* Thouret, whose valuable work on the Revolutions of France cannot be too deeply studied by his countrymen, describes the reign of this monarch, in a few words. "Louis XIV," says he, "gouverna en despote; nul obstacle ne gêna l'exercise de son pouvoir absolu. Pendant un regne très long, ce prince vit s'elever une nouvelle generation, qu'il façonna au joug, et qui transmit ses cœurs serviles à ses descendants. Les grands, le clergé, le peuple, tous rampêrent dans le même abaissement." So much for the monarch: what the same excellent writer says of the people, is no less true: "L'eclat du regne de Louis XIV, en flattant la vanité de la nation, l'empecha de voir toute l'étendue de l'autorité qu'il exerçoit sur elle: eblouiée par la magnificence et par la gloire

of various academies and literary societies was, therefore, an object of great solicitude during Philip's reign. As mentioned in a former page, the single exertions of Feijoo* and Mayans, did more towards producing a new era of knowledge here than the whole of their cotemporaries. The first Volume of *El Teatro Critico,* a periodical work, in which the former combatted the errors of his age, with the double weapon of ridicule and reason, appeared in 1726. The influence of this celebrated work, and his erudite letters, of which thirteen volumes were published between the above year, and 1760, was such, that Feijoo is considered as the restorer of Spanish literature and Science in the eighteenth century.

The peaceful reign of Ferdinand VI. was also favourable to the progress of learning; and this prince is said to have done his utmost in aiding the impulse given in the preceding reign. It

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de ce prince, elle s'honora de l'avoir pour maître. L'adulation interessée des écrivains de ces temps, prolongea la durée de cette illusion."

* If the christian church has produced intolerance and cruelty in their most hideous forms, it can also boast a long list of names, of those who are an honour to the species, and most richly deserve the canonization bestowed on them. Feijoo was a benedictine monk, and may justly claim the reward of his most popular predecessors: the extent and variety of his knowledge have never been exceded by any writer of Spain.

Gregorio Mayans, a lawyer by profession, was also a man of vast erudition, and contributed to extend the taste for literature in a very eminent degree.

was not, however, till the accession of Charles III. that the sun of Spanish literature re-appeared, illumined with its former glory. Charles, who deserves to be ranked amongst the Nervas and Trajans of other times, did more to promote letters and the arts in Spain, than all his predecessors together: surely it is not too much to say that the sovereign who is entitled to this panegyric, deserves an apotheosis!

The catalogue of Spanish writers, whose works are noticed by Sampere, de Castro and others, will bear an advantageous comparison with those of France and our own country, of the same period; a circumstance the more to be wondered at, since the Inquisition which had renewed a system of proscription immediately after the treaty of Utrecht, did not suffer a single individual of liberal opinion, either in religion, politics, or literature, to escape persecution. The treatment of Floridablanca, Almodavar, Campomanes, Azara, Chumacero, Palafox, Jovellanos, de Roda, the amiable Countess de Montijo,* and many others in this reign, proves that if Emperors and Kings were not to be found, neither Bishops, Ministers nor Magistrates were spared by the Holy Office. But the spirit of the age was too powerful for the sacred tribunal, and destined ere many years, to suppress it altogether.

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* The whole life of this celebrated woman was devoted to works of charity and benevolence; also to the publication of tracts calculated to enlighten the poorer classes of society. Besides a correspondence of many years with the venerable Bishop of Blois, her house was open to the most distinguished individuals of the Spanish hierarchy; more especially Don Antonio Palafox, Bishop of Cuenca; Tabira, Bishop of Salamanca; Ibarra, Posada, and many others known for their sentiments in favour of clerical reform. The Countess died at Logroño in 1808.

Even a circumscribed account of those who have graced the literary annals of Spain, from the reign of Charles III. to the present moment, would occupy a very voluminous work, and amply repay the labours of the biographer and critic: the rapid, and I may add talismanic progress, made as it were by enchantment, though opposed at every step, on the arrival of the above monarch, is the best proof of what Spain would have been, had learning and science experienced no check in preceding reigns.

The same remarkable distinction which prevails between the national character of the Spanish people, and that of other nations, is no less strikingly manifested in the writings of those authors who sprung up on the accession of Charles. The whole seem to have been animated with a desire of restoring the literature of their country; as if they felt how much it had been degraded in former reigns. Although pens were not wanting to sing the praises of the modern Augustus, it is highly creditable to the Spanish muse to add, that there are few instance on record of her poets having prostituted their pens to power, or turned poetry aside from its original intention, that of promoting the interests of freedom and humanity. A slight reference to the works of Trigueros,[*] the elder Moratin, Melendez,[†] Yriarte, and a host of other poets, amply prove the truth of this assertion. The works of these writers are replete with sentiments in favour of liberty and reform, at a time when the poets of other countries were chiefly occupied in illustrating the heathen mythology, or seeking the patronage of some great man.* Amongst the prose writers of that reign, Campomanes, Acevedo, de Roda, Floridablanca, Salas, Lardizabal, Olavide, Campilla, La Isla, Jovellanos and Cabarrus, not to mention a hundred other names, present a phalanx of practical reformers and practical philosophers, for which it would be idle to look for equals in the rest of Europe.

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[*] Although the Alexandrian measure had been attempted before his time, in one or two solitary instances, Trigueros is the only Spanish poet who has brought it to perfection, and proved the capability of the language for this species of verse, as well as for all others peculiar to our own flexible dialect. A French eulogist of the last century, was so enchanted with *El Poeta Filosofo*, a didactic poem, composed of several distinct subjects, like the Essay on Man, and Task of Cowper, as to place Trigueros even above Pope. Although this praise is, doubtless, greatly exaggerated, and he is still but comparatively little known to his country, the merits of Trigueros are unquestionable. The specimens of his verses given by Sempere, besides their claims to fame, on the score of diction and harmony, have another quality, which fully justifies what I have said of the Spanish poets generally; they have a powerful moral tendency; and it is probable that the freedom with which he lashed the vices of "the great, vulgar and the small," did more for the unpopularity of Trigueros, than any other cause. The "Philosophical Poem" is composed of twelve books: that entitled "*Man,*" with which it commences, is inscribed to Pope, whom he hails as the British Horace. Trigueros was also much esteemed as a dramatic poet, and left a number of Tragedies amongst his inedited manuscripts. It is a singular circumstance connected with the fate of this writer, that while assailed by all the shafts of envy and criticism at home, poems were written in his praise in France; the celebrated Florian was amongst the most ardent of his admirers.

[†] This celebrated man, the spirit and beauty of whose odes are not exceeded by any other writer of Europe, died at Montpellier in 1817. Melendez was amongst the number of those who experienced popular violence, while endeavouring to restore order here, in 1808, and was afterwards named a Counsellor of State

Not confining his efforts to the mere encouragement of literary men, Charles III. gave them a decided preference in all offices of trust, from that of Prime Minister, down to the post of Ambassadors and commercial Consuls. The reforms effected in his reign, and the degree of prosperity acquired by Spain, amidst the unceasing hostility of priests and inquisitors, is a triumphant and unanswerable proof, how well such men knew how to merit the confidence of their sovereign, and the benedictions of posterity; while the sudden

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under King Joseph. He had been persecuted by the Holy Office so long back as the year 1796.

[*] It is scarcely necessary to say that neither Johnson, Goldsmith, nor a few others of the English school, are comprised in the above remark.

relapse into former corruption, which followed the accession of Charles IV. is the most striking proof ever furnished, of the consequences to a nation, of placing power in the hands of needy adventurers and ignorant court favourites.

Should any future writer undertake to do justice to the reformers of the Peninsula, he will but ill perform his task, without recapitulating the benefits of every kind conferred on Spain by Charles III. and those to whom his confidence was given: amongst these, the names I have mentioned are pre-eminently conspicuous, not only as incorruptible and unbought statesmen and ministers, but as writers and patrons of learning. It would, indeed, be extremely difficult to point out any set of men in the modern history of Europe, whose names are more deserving of being handed down to posterity.

While it was reserved for La Isla* to complete the arduous task so well begun by Feijoo, in reforming and exposing the bad taste and extravagance of popular preaching, and various idle ceremonies, Floridablanca, and more especially Campomanes, laboured, with no less talent than success, to introduce a knowledge of political economy, in all its branches, amongst his countrymen: his invaluable work on popular industry, which the ministers of Charles III. circulated in Spain and the Colonies with as much zeal and avidity as the Bible is distributed in England at the present moment, produced an astonishing effect on the habits and manners of the people, rousing them from the lethargy of centuries, and opening an inexhaustible field for their talents and industry. The efforts of Campomanes to promote commerce, manufactures, the useful arts, and the charitable establishments which he founded under the auspices of Charles III., place this able and learned writer on a level with the most distinguished philanthropists of modern times.

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* Isla is the most conspicuous of those who have redeemed a portion of the misfortunes entailed on mankind by the Jesuits. His celebrated work, the adventures of *Fra Gerundio de Campazos*, is justly ranked next to those of the Knight of La Mancha, and has been as effectual in curing the rage for bad preaching, as the former for chivalry. Though denounced by the Holy Office, there was no possibility of preventing it from being freely circulated in Spain. This admirable satire, and the familiar letters of the author, are amongst the Spanish works which deserve to be better known in the European Republic of Letters.

Jovellanos, whose name is synonymous with all that is good and amiable, may be said to have equalled the best of his European contemporaries, and gone far beyond most of them, in all those excellencies which constitute an eloquent writer, refined scholar, and profound statesman. It would be almost impossible to point out a gap in literature and political discussion, that was not filled, and ably filled, by this extraordinary writer, to whom the flattering compliment of Dr. Johnson to Goldsmith might be applied, with still more justice.

It has been truly said, that whatever he did was well done; whether he unravelled the intricacies of political economy; traced the manners and customs of ancient times; prepared an essay on education or the fine arts; dwelt on some difficult point of historical research; composed a tragedy, or wrote an ode; all seemed alike familiar to his versatile pen; so that he never failed in any literary undertaking, however complicated and difficult. It is even said of him, that he succeeded in the above branches, as if each had been the exclusive study of his life. It will be an eternal stain on the reign of Charles IV., that this great and lamented character was consigned to imprisonment in a fortress, during more than six years of his valuable life, for his efforts in favour of virtue and truth; nor will it be easy for many persons, who might be named, to exonerate themselves for the part they acted towards him, in 1811; a treatment that no man ever merited less than Jovellanos, and which accelerated the loss of one, who might still have been, as he was before, the most brilliant ornament of his country. If the literati of Spain look forward with anxiety for a collection of this writer's works, the Spanish people anticipate the day when justice shall be done to his memory by their representatives, and some atonement made for the persecution he experienced while living. As Jovellanos was amongst the few men of our time, who have written for posterity, so will the future legislators of Europe, as well as of Spain, not fail to profit from his immortal labours.*

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* Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos was born at Gijon in Asturias, on the 5th of January, 1744; after receiving the first rudiments of his education there, and at Oviedo, he was sent to complete his studies at Alcala de Henares. Had the original intention of placing the young student in the clerical profession been followed up, there is no calculating the loss that general literature would have sustained. The nomination of Jovellanos to the place of criminal judge at Seville, in 1767, may, therefore, be regarded as a victory in favour of civilization. Devoted to letters from his youth, the leisure afforded by a great variety of harassing occupations at Seville was filled up by the composition of "*Pelayo*" and "*El Delincuente Honorado*"; the first a tragedy, and the second a comedy, performed at Oviedo, in 1782, and since esteemed as two of the most popular plays in Spain. Having been appointed to a place in the hall of Alcaldes, Jovellanos came to the capital in 1778: meeting with Cabarrus in the following year, an intimacy was formed, which continued through life. Campomanes had already recognised the powers of Jovellanos, so that he had waited only the present opportunity to take him by the hand. His famous "*Informe*," or essay on the project of an Agrarian Law, was published in 1787, and followed by that on public amusements. It was owing to his support of Cabarrus, against the intrigues of Lerena, the Minister of Finances, that Jovellanos was ordered to quit Madrid, for the superintendency of certain public works at Salamanca and Asturias. Returning to the capital, to assist his friend, another royal order was delivered to him, commanding him to return instantly; nor was it till through the representations of Cabarrus that he could come back to Madrid. Nominated Ambassador to Russia, in 1797, he was in possession of that appointment only a few days, when an order arrived, directing him to repair to Madrid, to fill the office of Minister of Justice. Although not less diffident in his new situation, than was Addison when Secretary of State, this did not

The patronage and protection accorded to Count Francisco de Cabarrus, by Charles III., and his prime minister Floridablanca, proves that

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prevent the philosophic minister from setting about the work of reform: the zeal he manifested, but above all his extreme popularity, which excited the jealousy of Godoy himself, was soon fatal to his power. Retiring to his native place, the three following years of this great man's life were passed in deploring the wretched state of Spain, and devising all the means he possessed, of ameliorating the condition of the people, particularly in the establishment of a school at Gijon. The circulation of a Spanish copy of the "*Contrat Social*," in which the anonymous translator happened to insert a note in praise of Jovellanos, served as a pretext for his exile to the castle of Bellver, in Majorca; dragged away from his home, on the 13th March, 1801, he was conducted to the above gloomy place, and confined with the greatest rigour, till the 22nd of the same month, in 1808; when, a letter came from Caballero, the Minister of State, informing him that he was at liberty to return to court. Scarcely had Jovellanos reached Gijon, debilitated from a long illness, and almost broken hearted with unmerited sufferings, than Floridablanca, who was placed at the head of the Regency, called upon him to form part of the patriotic government.

Though nothing could be more remote from the wishes of Jovellanos, than to venture again on the precarious sea of politics, he had too much patriotism to resist the present appeal: during the eighteen months, in which he was a member of the central Junta, there was not a single act of the government determined on without consulting him; and he also drew up various important memoirs on the measures to be adopted for assembling the Cortes. It was on the removal of the Junta, from Aranjuez to Seville, that Lord Holland became acquainted with the Asturian philosopher: two men, whose pursuits had been so similar, were not long in forming an intimacy. It must have been a rich treat to the Noble Lord, to have had so good an opportunity of con-their favours were not confined to native Spaniards. Though born at Bayonne, this enlightened statesman, and able financier, had no sooner presented

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ferring with one of the greatest literary characters Spain had ever produced: scarcely less so for Jovellanos, to meet with a statesman of whose patriotism and proficiency in the belles lettres, particularly those of Spain, he could not have been ignorant. His Lordship is said to possess a bust of the Spanish sage, which was executed at Seville, before they separated: the request of this memorial was a delicate mode of complimenting Jovellanos, and is highly honourable to his Lordship.

Deeply affected by the unfounded calumnies circulated against the Junta, and still in a very indifferent state of health, Jovellanos determined to retire from a scene where his services were so badly requited: for this purpose, he addressed a letter to the Regency, at Cadiz, requesting they would accept his resignation, and allow him some means of subsistence; he was pennyless! The leave required, being granted, and a provision made for him, Jovellanos sailed from Cadiz, on the 26th February, 1810, and, having narrowly escaped shipwreck at the entrance of Muros de Noya, in his native province, he landed there on the 6th of the following month. Jovellanos would have suffered much more than the fatigues of this voyages without a murmur; his only source of sorrow, was in the ingratitude of his country, for which he had so long toiled, only to be abandoned and calumniated in his old age. He had not been long at Muros, before an event occurred, which was not a little calculated to increase his irritation at such unmerited reports: the Junta of Galicia, joining in the outcry, so unjustly raised against the members of the central Junta, despatched an officer and party of soldiers, to seize the papers of Jovellanos and his companion, the Marquis of Campo-Sagrado; also to ascertain whether they were furnished with passports. This act of needless oppression seems to have affected the Philosopher the more, as, although its injustice was recognized, his plan for the establishment of a national bank, than he was taken by the hand, and until sacrificed to the intrigues of faction, like his friend

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those who acted so cruelly never took any steps to redress the injury, or soothe the wounded feelings of Jovellanos. Owing to the imprisonment of several members of the Junta, and the false assertions which continued to be circulated relative to those who formed that body, Jovellanos undertook its defence: his work on this subject was printed at Coruña in 1811, and contains a complete justification of all their measures, as well as an exposition of his own treatment, during the preceding twenty-five years of his life.

Returning to Gijon in July, Jovellanos was received by the populace, and those of his old friends who remained, with all the enthusiasm and joy natural to persons who felt as if they had recovered a long-lost benefactor: cries of "live the father of his "country, live the benefactor of Gijon, and all the province!" resounded through the streets; but, time had made such havoc among his acquaintances, that many of them were resting in the tomb; the most distressing mutation was, the total disorganization of his establishment for education; which had been recently converted into a barrack, by a party of French troops. The first care of Jovellanos was, to make the best arrangements he could for its restoration, and some progress had been made in this, as well as in other schemes in favour of humanity, when news arrived that another body of French were advancing with rapidity. This unexpected intelligence threw all the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, and Jovellanos amongst the rest determined to embark immediately: he did so; but, as in the former voyage, a storm arose, and the vessel in which he had embarked, was driven into a small port of Asturias, called Vega, whence he was destined never to depart. Called upon to attend Don Pedro Valdes Llenos, a relation, and his companion in misfortune, Jovellanos paid him all the attentions of the tenderest

Jovellanos, he continued for many years to aid in the reformation of abuses, being, himself, the restorer of public credit, which had been totally

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friendship; till, being himself attacked by disease, he was no longer able to fill that office. Although concealed from the knowledge of Jovellanos, his friend had died on the 25th, and he himself survived only two days, when he resigned a life, of which the last twenty years had been passed in persecution and suffering. Many of those who joined in the malignant outcry against Jovellanos, while he lived, hastened to pay a last tribute to his memory when dead, by following his remains to the grave. The body of this philanthropist, patriot and philosopher, was deposited in the cemetery of Vega, on the 29th, and a barbarous epitaph engraved on a stone which covered him, till the circumstances of the war afforded an opportunity of his ashes being removed to the family vault at Gijon. Notwithstanding the difficulty of communication, the news of this great man's death flew like lightning through the Peninsula, and was every where deplored as a national calamity: politicians, literary men, students, and populace, all regarded his loss as irreparable to science, art and education; even the instruments of faction, who had assisted in persecuting him, are said to have acknowledged their crime, and repented. A decree of Cortes, then assembled in Cadiz, paid a just tribute to departed excellence: after expressing how much Spain was indebted to his efforts, they ordered that the essay on Agrarian Law should not only be consulted, as its chief guide, by the Committee of Agriculture, but even made an integral part of study in the Schools and Universities. It remains for the present Cortes of Spain to complete this tardy compensation to persecuted genius, by some testimony still more worthy of his exalted merits.

It need scarcely be said that Jovellanos died in extreme poverty: it was worthy of those who persecuted him through life, to aggravate his sufferings by the additional evil of penury.

destroyed, by previous mismanagement. The letters addressed by Cabarrus to Jovellanos, like

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Such conduct on the part of the Court, and the misled enthusiasts of Cadiz, who endeavoured to blacken his character while living, requires no comment; curses, "not loud, but deep," will be heaped on their heads by posterity; and when it is recollected that the treatment of Jovellanos was systematically extended to all those who had any pretensions to honour, virtue and talents, where is the man who will not raise his eyes to heaven, and bless the day when such a state of things was destroyed?

Of all those who promised to celebrate the name, and record the services rendered to humanity, by the philosopher of Asturias, his friend, Don Augustin Bermudez, is the only person who has performed that task: his "Memoir," from which much of the foregoing data is taken, contains a number of interesting particulars, both of the life and writings of Jovellanos. The conclusion to be drawn from the statement of his biographer, is, that the powers of Jovellanos were so vast and varied, his labours for the public good so unceasing, it would be difficult to name a single branch of human knowledge that he did not understand and employ for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. Human vanity and presumption have sought to assimilate man to the Divinity: if ever such a doctrine could be justified, it is, surely, where the gifts of God are so profusely bestowed as they were on Jovellanos, and where the possessor thought only of employing them for the good of the species.

The Spanish nation looks with anxiety for an edition of this great man's works: this is the inheritance of Europe, as well as of Spain; and will be a fountain at which all civilized nations, who aim at perfection in morals and legislation, will drink. As a writer, Jovellanos approaches nearer the brilliancy of Edmund Burke, than any other I can name; but his style possessed excellencies which were unknown even to the Irish luminary. His Tragedy of "Pelayo" has been compared to the "Cato" of Addison, while the Comedy of "The Honourable Delinquent," the latter's essay on the project of an Agrarian Law, ought to be familiar to every nation in Europe.*

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is equal, in comic power, to those of Goldsmith and Sheridan. His Odes and Lyric Poetry are not inferior to those of Collins, while the Epistles, of which his biographer has published four, unite the harmony and vigour of Pope and Johnson.

The conduct of Jovellanos, after his return from so long an exile, when his recent treatment must have been sufficient to estrange the most faithful adherent of the Bourbon Dynasty, proves him to have been one of the purest patriots and most disinterested men that ever adorned any age or country. Named Minister of the Interior by King Joseph, the appointment was accompanied with letters from all his most intimate friends, including Azanza, Mazzaredo, O'Farril and Cabarrus, entreating him in the most earnest terms to join them in putting an end to the miseries of their common country: but these, and a strong letter from the French general Sebastiani, stating motives which would have had great weight with many, were altogether ineffectual. This rejection of fortune, rank, honours and power, on the part of a man who had been impoverished in means, and broken in spirit, by so many years of relentless persecution, places Jovellanos almost without a rival in modern history.

The claims of this great and good man to the sympathy of Englishmen, are, by no means, inconsiderable: the theory of our Constitution was perfectly familiar to him; he loved to trace its striking affinities with the old laws and institutions of Spain. It was magnanimous thus to regard a nation whose ministers had frequently adopted a cruel, if not a dishonest policy, towards his native country.

[*] Although Count Gausa was the immediate patron of Cabarrus, he might have continued much longer unnoticed were it not for Floridablanca, who soon discovered the talents of this

But the galaxy of genius and talent, which adorned the reign of Charles III., and most of whom lived to experience neglect and persecu-

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able statesman. His persecution did not commence till 1789, when the Priesthood and Courtiers, who surrounded Charles IV., procured an order for his exile to Batres, a castle within a few leagues of this city: though his friend Floridablanca was still in the ministry, he could not oppose the torrent. When Godoy got into power, two years after, Cabarrus was one of the many reformers who experienced the support and protection of the new favourite. His celebrated letters to Jovellanos, on the existing abuses in the government of Spain, were written while in exile, and appeared in 1795, with a long dedication to the Prince of Peace, to whom he speaks as to a benefactor and friend. These letters breathe a spirit of philanthropy and enthusiasm highly creditable to the writer: they are also amongst the most eloquent specimens of political reasoning, that have ever appeared in this country: their importance may be conceived from the subjects treated: the first relates to the obstacles which nature opposes to agriculture, and on the means of removing them; the second is on the obstacles arising from opinion, and the mode of remedying them, by the diffusion of knowledge, and a general system of public education; the third treats on the legislative obstacles, in their relation to produce and imports; the fourth is devoted to the nobility and the law of primogeniture; the fifth is on public health, and imperfections of Sanitary regulations in Spain: the volume closes with a memorial addressed to Charles III., on the extinction of the national debt, and the mode of levying contributions. As might be expected, a publication, in which the most crying abuses were fully exposed, could not fail to call forth all the ire of the servile and religious factions. Although some years were passed in obscurity or exile, it does not appear that Godoy abandoned his friend. Being appointed Minister of tion, during the reigns of his two successors, has disappeared, giving place to a new set of men; who, if they do not lay claim to the solidity and learning of their predecessors, are neither deficient in talents nor patriotism.

Although the limits of this correspondence, which has already become much more voluminous than I had anticipated, prevent me from entering into a detailed notice of the living literati of Spain, I should be exceedingly sorry to be denied the pleasure of frequently returning to a subject, which opens so wide a field of panegyric and instruction, since there is no department of science or literature that has not been successfully cultivated by the existing writers of the Peninsula. Notwithstanding all the obstacles which have been thrown in the way of knowledge during the last six years of proscription and misrule, there are numbers here, who, in natural endowments, and solid acquirements, do honour to the age. It is impossible to repeat the names

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Finance under the French government in Spain, Cabarrus repaired to Seville in 1810, and was occupied in carrying his favourite plan of reform into effect, when he was seized with a sudden illness, of which he died in a few days. Though full of that vehemence, which forms the distinguishing characteristic of enthusiasm, Spain never possessed a more upright man or able minister, than the Count de Cabarrus: Jovellanos, who did not approve of his following the fortunes of the new King, still paid a warm tribute to the virtues of Cabarrus, in his defence of the central Junta.

of such men as Lardizabal,[*] Toribio Nuñez, Cambronero, Herreros, Salas, Cabrera, Hermosilla, Reinoso, Vascons, Andujar, Clemente, Rodriguez, O'Farril, Fernandez, Moratin, Gorostiza, and a host of others, in the various branches of legislation, jurisprudence, science, politics, history, poetry and the drama, without acknowledging that Spain still possesses writers who require to be more generally known to be esteemed and admired. A list of those who have laboured in what are called the exact sciences, such as astronomy, chemistry, botany, medicine, and the mathematics, during the last sixty years, would occupy a large space, and prove that the professors of Spain have not been either idle or inferior, in point of talent, to the best of their contemporaries. But what could be expected in a country, where the works of Gassendi, Descartes and Newton, were excluded from the Universities, as late as 1771, because they did not "*symbolize*," with revealed religion![†]

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[*] Don Manuel de Lardizabal, one of the Provisional Junta of Government, published an essay on punishments, in 1782, in which he points out the monstrous absurdities of those inflicted by the criminal code of Spain: his chapter on the practice of applying the torture in criminal prosecutions is much admired. Lardizabal's work is regarded as a classical work, worthy of being placed on the same shelf with Beccaria's immortal volume.

[†] Some valuable data, on the progress of science in Spain, have appeared in a volume recently published at Paris, by a Mr.

It is natural to particularize those, to whom I am more especially indebted for a considerable portion of the information sought for, during my visit to this capital. Most willingly would I dwell on the merits of Marina and Llorente,*

Hautefort, whose book would have been more popular, were his remarks exclusively confined to science. Not content with disfiguring his work by a large stock of egotism, he favours his readers with an essay on the defects of the Spanish Constitution, in which all the patriots of 1812 are very plainly denounced as levellers and democrats, for not having adopted a chamber of Peers. M. Hautefort's account of the defence of Zaragoza will be read with pleasure by all those who admire the heroism displayed there in 1808.

* M. Llorente is amongst the most industrious, useful and correct writers, of whom his country can boast: like Jovellanos, his pen has never been taken up, except to support the interests of religion and humanity. Brought up to the clerical profession, he became a Canon at the Cathedral of Toledo, in the early part of Charles IV.'s, reign, and was appointed Secretary at the Inquisition at Madrid, in 1789: availing himself of the advantages thus afforded, the three years he continued in office were divided between softening down the sanguinary code of the Holy Office, and collecting the materials for illustrating its past history: of these, his four interesting volumes, so often quoted in my former letters, compose only a part.

Convinced, with some of the wisest and best men in Spain, that reform, political and religious, could come only from without, and in obedience to the peremptory injunctions of his Sovereigns, Charles IV. and Ferdinand, M. Llorente submitted to the new king, and was immediately appointed Minister for Public Instruction; entrusted with various important commissions by the government of Joseph Buonaparte, he discharged two ecclesiastics, who have linked their names with the civil, religious and political history of their country so closely, that both must go down the stream of time together. It would,

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them with a zeal and ability, which obtained general approbation: his efforts to prevent excesses on both sides were particularly conspicuous during the war. Included in the proscription, which awaited all the followers of Joseph, M. Llorente's exile has been attended with the loss of personal property to a very large amount; a valuable library, and the whole of his emoluments. Neither poverty nor persecution have, however, for a moment, interrupted the labours of this excellent man. His works are extremely voluminous, and all tending to some grand object of reform and improvement. An essay, published by him in 1812, exposed many of the abuses which have crept into church discipline; and, amongst others, the nomination of Bishops by the Popes, or by temporal Sovereigns, instead of being elected by the clergy and people, as they were originally. His academical discourse on the Holy Office appeared soon after. Since these publications, the "Critical History," and "Plan of a Religious Constitution," already mentioned, have added greatly to his literary reputation. The last named work has been denounced by the Bishop of Barcelona, and a severe censure passed on it; this gave rise to a second work, entitled an apology for the former; in which, every article attacked by the censor is ably refuted, and the doctrines previously laid down more strengthened than ever. Thus it is, that the persecutions of talent and virtue are rendered useful to mankind.

From the magnitude and number of M. Llorente's offences, there is little doubt, that, if the Inquisition were restored, and should he fall into the hands of its familiars, he would, himself, grace one of those spectacles so often and well described in his works.

The publication of a work, in which the author has properhaps, be impossible to name any two writers who have such claims on the gratitude of present and future generations: both have rendered incalculable services to Spain, in elucidating the

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duced various interesting documents, and, amongst others, a remonstrance made by the minister of Saint Louis to Pope Innocent IV., in 1247, against the undue and tyrannical influence of the Sovereign Pontiff, no less than his Plan of a Religious Constitution, has made M. Llorente an object of jealousy and hatred to the French hierarchy, and was the cause of his being excluded from performing mass in any of the churches in Paris. This cruel and malignant act has deprived him of a trifling stipend; thus considerably reducing means, which were already of the most circumscribed description. The result of all this series of injustice at home, and persecution abroad, is, that the author of the "Critical History," after enjoying an ample fortune, during the time of his life when it was least wanted, is now reduced to the necessity of seeking his bread in a strange land.

In addition to his articles furnished to the *Révue Encyclopædique*, M. Llorente occasionally offers some wholesome advice to his countrymen, and much as he disapproves of many acts of the constitutional government, more especially those of which relate to the *Afrancesados*, he is not the less patriotic or anxious for its preservation: his opinions on the policy which the ministers ought to pursue, are to be found in several letters, published under the signature of Candido.

Upon the whole, this excellent divine may be said to exhibit the sublimest spectacle of our nature; that of a virtuous man struggling with adversity, and sustaining his principles in the midst of difficulties; of which, only a small part, would convert hundreds of his contemporaries into hypocrites and slaves.

The documents collected by M. Llorente, relative to the most complicated and important points of its former history. The theory of the Cortes, and annals of the Holy Office, are imperishable monuments of erudition and deep research: a knowledge of their contents is absolutely necessary to every Spaniard, who is desirous of forming a clear and unbiassed judgment on the past condi-

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more remarkable trials and persecutions of the Holy Office, also the correspondence of Charles V. with his ambassador at Rome, one of the most interesting extant, would be a valuable acquisition to the British Museum; though there is reason to believe that they have been offered to it, and rejected. His life of the venerable Bishop of Chiapa is in the press, and could not be better dedicated than to his collateral descendant, the faithful and persecuted follower of Napoleon.

M. Llorente's knowledge of ecclesiastical history, and theological controversy, has obtained for him the appellation of "the walking library," (*biblioteca ambulante*:) learning could not be better conferred, for he is ever ready to communicate it, and without that pedantic vanity displayed by so many of his contemporaries in Spain, and other countries. Owing to the peculiarity of his situation, which has prevented M. Llorente from returning home, as well as the want of good faith amongst some French and Spanish booksellers, who have printed editions of his works, without consulting the author, they have become more profitable to others than to himself.

In closing this inadequate notice of the services rendered to mankind by M. Llorente, I would appeal to the humane and benevolent, whether it is not a stain on the character of the times, that such men should be suffered to end their days in poverty; and I will ask, with what justice those who neglect them, can reproach the persecutors of Cervantes, Tasso and Camoens?

tion of his country: they will be permanent guides to Spain, nor should her legislators ever advance a step, without consulting these inestimable productions.*

If the vacuum left by Trigueros, Melendez, Franciso de Salas, the elder Moratin, and Yriarte, in didactic and satirical poetry, or that of Cienfuegos in the drama, has not been filled up so effectually as might be wished, yet are there living writers, who bid fair to rival the most favoured of their predecessors. It cannot be too often repeated in praise of Spanish poets, that their muse is scarcely ever disgraced, by offering incense to power: it has, on the contrary, been almost invariably devoted to the cause of liberty, and in animating their country to cultivate and cherish the only real conservative principle of human happiness, civilization. Following the example of Cienfuegos, the Alfieri of Spain, his successors, particularly Quintana, Martinez de la Rosa, Saviñon, Gorostiza,† and other dramatic writers, in making their pens subservient to the interests of freedom, have done wonders towards spreading the sacred flame amongst their countrymen; a circumstance which will, of itself, give more chance of immortality to their efforts, than that which awaits numberless dramatic productions of other countries, in which it would be vain to look for either morality or patriotism. Impressed with the powerful and salutary influence, which scenic representation is capable of producing on a warm-hearted and generous people, these writers have taken full advantage of their position: it is a fortunate circumstance for Spain, that her poets are not influenced by those mercenary motives, which have induced contemporary bards to lend themselves to despotism: their conduct was doubly important, at a time when the progress of tyranny and superstition required all the exertions of the wise and good, to stem a torrent, that threatened the flame of liberty with total extinction. So long as the poets of Spain persevere in the admirable course they have

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* Marina has never obtained a higher dignity than his fellow labourer Llorente, that of a canon. Part of his labours, the theory of the Cortes, has been published in a French dress, since my return from the Peninsula. I frequently heard the venerable author advocate the cause of liberty in the national congress while at Madrid.

† Though a native of Vera Cruz, this spirited and popular writer has been educated in the Peninsula, and is so identified with its Literati, as if born amongst them. Most of his comedies

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are great favourites with the Spanish public; and it should be said in his praise, that they are all favourable to freedom. "*Indulgencia para Todos*," his first production, brought out whilst terrorism was at its height, is amongst the most popular plays performed on the Spanish stage; and deservedly so, as it regards purity of style, and tendency to inspire patriotism. The pen of Gorostiza, like those of many other dramatic writers, has been sedulously employed in celebrating the restoration of liberty.

hitherto pursued, there will be no cause to apprehend this worst of calamities, and so long will they be entitled to the first place among European bards. Surely there is no virtue so exalted, no praise too great, for men, who could thus, in the midst of poverty and persecution, brave every danger; who never raised their voices, except to impress their fellow-citizens with a due sense of what became the dignity of human nature; and, finally, who never forgot that poetry is a gift from the Divinity, composed for the express purpose of exalting the species, and inspiring a love of independence.*

Conde, one of the most celebrated writers of his day, has illustrated the Arabic literature of Spain; although this amiable man, and refined scholar, is amongst the recent losses of his country, a posthumous work of his composition, which cannot fail to throw great light upon the interesting subject to which he chiefly devoted his talents, is in a course of publication.

The poetical literature of Spain is likely to be elucidated by one, who possesses the requisite talents for such a task in a most eminent degree. A residence of some years here, has afforded Mr.

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* Although I cannot be persuaded to join in the opinion that Mr. Bentham is supposed to entertain of poetry, as a source of benefit to mankind, the servile conduct and vacillation of principle displayed by so many votaries of the nine, are certainly some excuse for the poetical scepticism of that great man.

Bowring an opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the poetry of this country from its earliest periods; whenever my friend undertakes this task, he has the means of adding a precious acquisition to the stock of English literature.*

Numerous and respectable as the Spanish historians were, in the reigns of the Austrian dynasty, when Zurita, Mariana, Herrera, Mendoza, and many other chroniclers illustrated the historical events of Spain, it is not without reason, that the want of a regular history, from the accession of the Bourbon family down to the present day, is complained of by the Spaniards themselves. But, since history was, above all other branches of literature, calculated to promote a spirit of reform, in exposing the truth, no wonder that the Inquisition should have taken such pains to prevent the circulation of any work that was not written in the servile spirit of the times. As no regular history has appeared subsequent to that of Ortis, whose annals of Phillip V.'s, reign contain a mere uninteresting detail of events, an important vacuum remains to be filled up in the literature of this country. Had they lived under a different system of government, such men as Isla, Jovellanos, and Cabarrus, would have performed that task to perfection: as it is, Spain has her Reinosos, Quintanas, and Llorentes, all of whom are too strongly impressed with the necessity of making history a prominent point in public education, to neglect such a fertile source of practical wisdom in morals and politics.*

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* Besides the essay I quoted in my last letter, some articles, which have appeared in the Retrospective Review, bear ample testimony to Mr. Bowring's capacity to do justice to the poets and poetical literature of Spain. Although I would not recommend my friend to abandon the more important walks of legislation and political economy, in which he has made a progress, that promises to be of the utmost service to his country, I should be sorry to imagine that the fruits of his researches in Spanish poetry were not sent forth in a more voluminous form: whenever he takes up the subject, I intreat him not to forget the poetical remains of Jovellanos.

The Russian Anthology, which places its editor on the first ranks of British versifiers, has appeared since the above remarks were written: when I add that this singularly beautiful collection was prepared during a commercial visit to St. Petersburgh, it will be allowed that the praises bestowed on my amiable and much-valued friend are not exaggerated.

Quintana is, perhaps, the only living writer of Spain, who has endeavoured to approximate the biography of her great men to the object which Plutarch had in view: his lives of illustrious Spaniards, published in 1807, is one of the most valuable historical works in the language, and pre-eminently calculated to animate the youth of Spain, in the path of true glory. Although interrupted by the events of the following year, it is hoped that if the eloquent author should not continue this praiseworthy undertaking, it will be resumed by some other writer; for, as the interest we feel in the actions of ancient heroes, or those of foreign nations, is by no means so powerful a stimulus as the lessons drawn from those of native growth, it would be a pity to leave the mine presented in Spanish history unexplored.*

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* Amongst the French writers who have treated on Spain, the abridged history of Duchesne, tutor to the Infantes of Spain, in the reign of Philip V., has been translated by Isla, who added some valuable notes. Next to Dr. Robertson's admirable history, may be ranked the history of the Revolutions of Spain, by Pere d'Orleans, who had previously treated those of England.

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* The future historians of present times will find some of their most valuable materials in the memoirs of M. Llorente, published soon after the restoration of Ferdinand. In his preface to the third volume, the author does not hesitate to say, that the Abbé de Pradt's account of the first Spanish revolution was composed chiefly from his work; and, what is worse, without any acknowledgment of the plagiarism. This is not a solitary charge; M. Angeloni, the Neapolitan publicist and philosopher, celebrated for his writings in favour of Italian independency, complains of a similar honour having been done to him by the ex-Bishop; and perhaps there are others who may be added to the list. I have frequently been inclined to suspect, that his Grace of Malines is one of the many foreign writers who "drink deep" at the fountain of Jeremy Bentham, though they forget to point out the source. There is little doubt but Mr. Henri de Saint Simon was long since anticipated in his excellent notions, concerning the different classes which divide civil society; for they are to be found abundantly scattered in the treatises on legislation, wherein the profound and judicious Du-

It is needless now to enter into a minute examination of the Spanish language, or point out those qualities which give it a marked superiority over many other dialects; a task, which requires a much abler pen: yet, I may be permitted to say, that it would be difficult to name one more adapted to the purposes of dramatic poetry and prose. It is hardly necessary to add, that the productions of the Spanish stage have long been made tributary to the writers of every other country. Lope de Vega, Calderon and Moreto, are names which belong to Europe rather than to Spain; for, who has not profited by their labours? The plays of Cienfuegos, who should have lived to see his country free,* are no less distinguished for elevation of sentiment, than their pure poetry and nervous style. Nearly all the tragedies of this popular writer are founded on the early historical annals of Spain; and, con-

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mont, (who is to Bentham what Johnson was to Shakespeare) has preserved all the spirit of his original, and given him a degree of currency which he might never have otherwise acquired. To return to the Abbé de Pradt; it would be unjust to deny that, if he borrows from others, what he takes is generally turned to a good account, and sometimes acquires a new charm, by being expressed in his own easy and captivating style.

* This justly celebrated poet, was the nephew of Jovellanos, and died soon after the entry of the French armies into the Peninsula.

sequently, full of allusions to its former glories. Zorayda, La Condesa de Castilla, and Idomeneo, are fair specimens of the claims of Cienfuegos to the first rank amongst dramatic poets: they are full of passion and pathos, which would not be disowned by the Drydens, Otways, and Rowes of our own country. The same qualities may be traced in the Pelayo of Quintana, and la Viuda de Padilla of Martinez de la Rosa: the first composed, to celebrate the actions of Spain's earliest christian hero, is extremely creditable to the patriotism and talents of the author: as to the second, it would have been impossible for any writer to select a more happy subject, rendered doubly interesting, from being performed during the war of independence.* The author was equally fortunate in the choice of a model, in Alfieri, justly styled the poet of liberty, as our own immortal bard is termed that of nature. When the vast and magnificent arcana contained in the plays of Shakespeare, still too much a secret to the European continent, is thrown open to the literati of Spain, a new impulse will be given to the minds of her thinkers and philosophers, and an inexhaustible mine afforded to her poets.*

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* In addition to the plays of Cienfuegos, which continue to keep possession of the Spanish stage, "*La Viuda de Padilla*," and "*Roma Libre*," are also extremely popular. The latter was produced at Cadiz, in 1812, by a young patriot, named Antonio Saviñon: it is merely a free translation of "*Bruto Primo*," the masterpiece of Alfieri, in which that energetic poet sung the praises, and proved the blessings of liberty, in language worthy of the subject.

It is only by a thorough reform in the system of study pursued at the universities and public schools, generally, as well as a long intercourse with the literature of other countries, that the writers of Spain will lay aside that disposition to prolixity and inflation, from which her most popular authors are not exempted. Many illustrious names might be quoted, to prove that there are abundant exceptions to this rule, and that the Spanish language is not less susceptible of eloquent conciseness and laconism, than any other: it may be regarded as without a rival, in all that relates to humour and satire. Galliardo, in his "*Dicionario Critico Burlesco,*" has given some excellent specimens of Spanish satirical humour: M. de Mora is also celebrated in the same line; but it would be, perhaps, impossible to find a writer in Europe, equal to Miñano, whose essays are published under the assumed appellation of "*El pobrecito Holgazan, Don Justo Balanza,*" *&c.*, in which he has attacked the failings of his countrymen, exposed the vices of the late system, and suggested hints for improvement in the happiest vein of satire and seriousness ever adopted by any of his contemporaries. It is greatly to the praise of this charming writer, that his portraiture of manners and character is drawn in such a way as to produce the desired effect without wounding personal feelings, or injuring private character. If M. Miñano were to make the early literature of his country an object of research, there is no writer here so likely to reform prevailing defects. Were he to study the Spanish chroniclers, and prose writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as sedulously as the anonymous author of Waverley and Guy Mannering has those of England and Scotland, the latter would soon have a formidable rival; for, Miñano, not satisfied with a mere delineation of manners and customs, draws the attention of his reader at once to some important moral conclusion, instead of either wholly neglecting such a tendency, or concealing it in a labyrinth, which most readers neither will nor can take the trouble of penetrating.*

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* The ignorance which prevails, with respect to our immortal bard, on the Continent, can scarcely be matter of surprise, when he is known to be but imperfectly understood by so many of his own countrymen; and, that even the commentators have left their task incomplete. The translation of Shakespeare's plays into French and German, above two hundred years after his death, is a remarkable fact in the history of literature: but, as he wrote "for all time," it would be extremely difficult to limit the period at which these stupendous proofs of genius will cease to excite the wonder and admiration of mankind.

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* A young French literary character of my acquaintance says, that the historical novels of the celebrated Scotch author appear as if they were transformations from the bard of Stratford.

In noticing the living writers of Spain, I ought not to omit the names of Florez Estrada, and Puigblanch: both these distinguished patriots resided in England, during the reign of terror here, and both published works, which enabled the British public to form an accurate opinion of the condition to which the people of this country were reduced, under the Servile faction. I have already had occasion to quote the former's eloquent representation to Ferdinand, in which he united the reasoning of an able publicist to the acuteness of an experienced politician. The "Inquisition Unmasked," by Puigblanch, though not so ample in its details as the "Critical History," is admirably calculated to expose the real character of the sacred tribunal. The conduct of the two patriots thus shortly noticed, as members of the Cortes, to which they were elected by the unsolicited suffrages of their fellow citizens, has realized the most sanguine expectations of their friends and constituents.

As the most glorious epoch of Spanish literature is, unquestionably, that in which her writers have been called upon to celebrate the restoration of liberty, it is to be hoped that those blossoms of bright promise, elicited by the new order of

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upon-Avon. Should this remark be confirmed by others, it is singular that the discovery should have been reserved for a foreigner. The popularity of this prolific writer, in France, is quite a phenomenon in the history of modern literature.

things, will, ere long, ripen into maturity, and that science, literature and the arts will keep pace with those institutions which are so indispensable to their successful cultivation.

The first efforts of literary men, whether in poetry or prose, have been naturally directed to expressions of exultation, at seeing those fetters broken which had previously enchained both the moral and physical power of the nation. Judging from innumerable pamphlets and articles in newspapers, in which some have exposed many of those scandalous abuses which disgraced the late system, while others have extolled the blessings of freedom, or sung its praises, there is every reason to believe that the literati of Spain will shortly enter the lists of fame, and contend for celebrity with their most favoured competitors of other countries. Meantime, that they are profiting by the study of foreign authors is evident, from the numerous translations which have appeared, including most of the master-pieces of French literature, particularly that portion of it which relates to religious dogmas, philosophy and politics. Notwithstanding the jealousy arising from political causes, which have so long subsisted between the two countries, Spain is under great obligations to French literature and science.* If the new selections be judiciously made, those obligations will be considerably increased. As the literary purveyors of Spain cannot be blind to the evil effects of inundating the public with books which are not favourable either to religion or morals, it is most desirable that none of those unworthy motives, which too often encumber the shelves of modern libraries, will arise in Spain. If there is still much to gain from the literary stores of France, there is also a great deal to be rejected, as not likely to serve either freedom or humanity south of the Pyrenees; and such is the avidity with which people seek novelty, that it will require all the vigilance of a paternal government to prevent the introduction of what may well be regarded as poisonous food for the moral and intellectual body; the same observation applies, in a greater or less degree, to the literature of England, Germany and Italy.

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* Feijoo wrote an elaborate essay, to prove that the knowledge and study of the French language was more essential to his countrymen than those of Greece and Rome.

Should a knowledge of the European languages become identified with the future system of public education, as I trust it will, a vast field will be opened to the research of Spanish students; in the interim, her translators are busily occupied in making up for the too general ignorance on this essential branch of modern instruction. While the facility of communication between this court and France, not less than the universality of its language, have made French literature so familiar to Spain, that of England is comparatively little known, except to a few men of letters. It is, in fact, doubtful, whether the anathemas of the Holy

Office were not more pointedly directed against the most harmless works of English writers than those of the encyclopedists, so much did it dread the influence of Lutheranism. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Bacon and Locke were, in the opinions of the Grand Inquisitors at least, two of the greatest monsters that ever appeared on earth. The prince of darkness was a convenient personage, and often put in requisition by those gentlemen; but what could they do with the founder of modern philosophy, and the inventor of the representative system, except burn their books and themselves in effigy? That both these ceremonies have been performed during the pious orgies, public and private, of the sacred tribunal, it is needless to say: thanks to the sanctified labours of Torquemada and his successors, the world of English literature, science and art, was unknown to Spain until the war of independence, during which there was no opportunity of benefiting by it. Having closed again, on the return of our faithful ally, in 1814, it is only in the present year that the gates of human knowledge may be said to have been taken off their hinges for the people of Spain. I hope it is not vanity to say that, in calling the attention of her literati to the vast stores of British learning and science, accumulated during ages of enterprize and comparative freedom, I am rendering them an important service; nor do I wish to derogate from the merit of any other nation, when I add that, the sooner they avail themselves of those resources, so abundantly to be found in the works of our philosophers and poets, the more likely will they be to appreciate the value of those institutions which have been so eminently favourable to the developement of the human mind in other places.

Although little more than the names of such men as More, Ascham, Buchanan, Spencer, Camden, Coke, Selden, Harvey, Napier, Cowley, Barrow, Tillotson, Dryden, Addison, and a hundred others, comprised in the galaxy of British genius and learning, are known here; and that our Humes, Gibbons, Robertsons, Johnsons and Goldsmiths, have been excluded as pests from society, it was impossible entirely to shut out the light: though there was scarcely an English work that did not serve to swell the prohibitory catalogue, our literature has formed an object of the utmost solicitude to many distinguished characters during the last thirty years. It is not to be wondered at, that the English dramatic writers should be little known in Spain: Milton has, however, found a translator of his immortal epic, in no less a personage than Escoiquiz, the well known tutor of Ferdinand: Pope was also the favourite author and poetical model of Trigueros.* Campomanes, who corresponded with Dr. Robertson and supplied many of the most valuable materials for his admirable history, is said to have been thoroughly versed in our literature. Jovellanos, the friend and correspondent of the noble biographer of Lope de Vega, appears to have been not only acquainted with, but particularly devoted to, the study of English authors.

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* Jovellanos was passionately fond of Milton's poetry; and proved his knowledge of our language, by an excellent translation of the first book of Paradise Lost.

Of all our writers, Mr. Bentham ought to be most satisfied with his reception and reputation in Spain: not less than five translations or commentaries on the treatises on legislation, published by Mr. Dumont, have been prepared here, while the most enlightened men of the Afrancesados and Liberales look up to him as their master in legislation. The learned Toribio Nuñez has rendered his country an immense and incalculable service, by calling its attention to the works of the English Solon: and when these party prejudices, or what is nearly as bad, national pride, (which is so apt to reject the wisdom that comes from without, for no other reason than because it is of foreign growth,) shall subside, there is little doubt but our celebrated countryman will be one of the most highly favoured legislative oracles of the Peninsula, as he is now the most generally admired.

When a selection from those writers, who shed such a brilliant light over our literary horizon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is made, it will afford a rich treat to the lovers of science and literature in Spain, although they will look in vain amongst the philosophers, historians, poets and dramatic authors of the present day for the solid wisdom and stern principles which distinguished the fathers of English law, learning and science, ere the progress of factitious refinement and the corruptions of government had spread their poison through all the veins of the social body, there is still a rich fund of knowledge and amusement to be derived from the study of our modern literature; yet, like that of France, the selections from it ought to be made with caution and good taste. The people of Spain have acquired a sufficient share of vices and weaknesses from the religious and political institutions of their own country, and I am justified in saying that neither would be diminished by an indiscriminate admission of contemporary English literature.

The Spaniards are far behind their neighbours in those works of fiction which have attained such an unaccountable ascendancy in the rest of Europe; they have been so satiated with the lives of pretended saints, and the histories of fictitious miracles, that our modern romances and novels, notwithstanding all their extravagance and absurdity, will scarcely be found seasoned enough for the palates of Spanish readers, and satisfy that appetite for the marvellous which prevails here. Some persons, however, esteem it as a blessing that a country, the literature of which is about to commence a new era, is not encumbered with the numberless works which, in giving false notions of human life, and frequently painting vice in the most fascinating colours, tend only to lead youth and age astray, when such books do not inculcate absolute vice. A discriminating choice from the Smolletts, Fieldings and Richardsons of the last century, could not fail to be useful here, not to mention a few novelists of a more recent date. Should the ravings of certain French and German enthusiasts, who have become so popular in England, also cross the Pyrenees, the result will be, no doubt, precisely the same—that of perverting the taste and judgment, without improving the morals. A few novels like the "Fool of Quality," "Vicar of Wakefield," and "Man of Feeling," would do infinitely more towards effecting a reform of manners, and exciting the generous sympathies, as also affording a source of rational amusement to the Spanish public, than the endless series of unintelligible tales and romances of the last forty years, whether of English, French or German growth, often got up to gratify an unnatural craving for variety; to enable a disappointed heroine to vent her spleen on a faithless, or, perhaps, worthless lover; to injure public morals by the recital of her crimes of follies; or, as in other instances, to describe the adventures of some successful cheat or impostor, not unfrequently in a combination to impose on public credulity. If the fathers and mothers of Spain suffer such works as those I have shortly noticed to supersede those of the Addisons, Johnsons, Blairs, Goldsmiths, Thomsons, Akensides, Cowpers, Edgeworths, Inchbalds and Hamiltons, they will do an incalculable injury to morals and religion, which no future efforts, either of their own, or of the legislature, can counteract.

Montesquieu and Filangieri,* like Bentham, are still known only to the literate and political inquirers of Spain: when a more general knowledge of their labours may be disseminated, the business of legislation will go on much more smoothly than it can under present circumstances.

Owing to the expense and difficulty of printing, several French booksellers have undertaken to feed the appetite for literary novelty here since the restoration of liberty. Although the lucre of gain has induced them to send many objectionable works across the Pyrenees, many excellent productions may be stated: amongst the latter, are selections from Fenelon, Massillon, Bossuet, Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, and others of their day; including Moliere and the tragic poets of France: a translation of Benjamin Constant's course of political study has been published by Don Antonio Lopez,. a lawyer and member of Cortes, who has added a commentary and notes to the French publicist's celebrated work; indeed, it cannot be too attentively read by the friends of liberty in Spain, as well as in the rest of Europe. The "Ruins of Empires," and Dupin's learned "Essay on the Origin of Religious Worship," had found their way into this country, even during the existence of the Holy Office. If reason had not come to the aid of Spain from so many other quarters, these two writers would have been sufficient to dispel the mists of ignorance and superstition which have so long enveloped the Peninsula. Condorcet's admirable and profound sketch of the progress of human knowledge, in which the writer has raised himself to a level with the most envied philosophers of modern times, is amongst the new works announced, and I trust it will, ere long, be adopted in all the schools and colleges in Spain. *Les trois Regnes d' Angleterre*, by M. Souligne, written to prove that the factions which divided England in the seventeenth century are not yet extinguished in his own country, will also afford some valuable lessons and useful hints to the politicians of this country, as the spirit and manners of nations will inform them how truth and reason have been set at defiance by former historians. If they wish to see how despotism rose, prospered and fell, in France, let them read the valuable abridgements of Thouret, and that of my young friend Felix Bodin. Their own history is too deeply engraven on their memories, and too closely connected with recent events, to require a recapitulation of other works, in which the struggles of justice against power are set forth. Let the booksellers and publishers of Spain make a rule, not to encourage any work that may be injurious to morals, or disrespectful to the Divinity, and they will not only confer lasting blessings on their country, but show an example that cannot be totally lost on others.

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* Llorente relates that the science of legislation was confided to an ignorant capuchin friar, one of the public preachers here; and who, though he had seen only the first volume, denounced the whole work as detestable, full of heresies, breathing an antichristian spirit, inimical to the Evangelists, and teaching the modern philosophy! It was in vain that the author of the "Critical History" undertook to prove the falsehood of the above assertions, offering to defend the philosopher of Naples: the verdict was given, and could not be revoked. To prevent the circulation of proscribed books, a clause in the edict of denunciation enjoined the faithful to declare whether they knew or heard of any person who possessed books belonging to the sect of Martin Luther, or other heretics; the Bible in the vulgar tongue, the Alcoran, &c.

Although the arrival of Charles III. was marked by the publication of several weekly and monthly publications, as well as of some newspapers, highly esteemed in their day, nearly all of those ended their career with the reign of that patron of letters, and never were revived: so that periodical literature may be said to be still more in its infancy here than any other branch. Impressed with the importance of guiding public taste and opinion, various individuals have shown a becoming zeal on the subject of periodical publications since the establishment of liberty. *El Censor*, which appears weekly, and *La Miscellanea*, a daily paper, receive literary contributions from the most enlightened amongst the Afrancesados; particularly the learned Cambronero, a passionate advocate for Mr. Bentham's philosophy.* Don Jose Joaquin de Mora, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, and many personal civilities, has, from his own extensive resources, and scarcely with any patronage, (which is, as yet, sadly deficient in Spain,) sustained the weight of a daily paper, *El Constitucional*, conducted with singular ability; also *La Minerva Nacional*, modelled on the plan of that lately suppressed by the French censorship. M. de Mora is one of the best political writers in Spain, a very good poet, and also conversant with English literature.

Many Journals have appeared and disappeared during the last six months, and it will doubtless be some time before the cares and labours of editorship are either understood, or sufficiently rewarded in Spain. It is devoutly to be hoped that, rather than become the tools of corruption, or minister to the cupidity of faction, the Spanish editors will be satisfied with moderate profits, and the still more important advantage of a self-approving conscience. Amidst so many newspapers which have either maintained their ground, or been discontinued, for want of adequate support, since the restoration of liberty, it is a most honourable trait in the character of public writers, that only one journal has espoused the cause of the Ministers for the sake of their patronage. Without paying so bad a compliment to these writers, as to suppose that government could not afford to buy over any more, (for money can always be found for the purposes of corruption,) I cannot help saying that no act of the first constitutional ministers seems to be more deserving of unqualified reprehension than their tampering with the press. Those to whom I would willingly address this observation, ought to have been too patriotic to retain power, which required the aid of mercenary pens for its support: they ought, above all, to have been the first to recognize the important truth, that the press is useful only when conducted on principles of disinterestedness and impartiality. Why had not the Patriots of 1812 rather begun their administration, by declaring that public opinion ought to be the invariable guide of public writers, and that the man who sells his pen to support all the measures of a ministry, whether right or wrong, betrays the interests of truth and of his country?

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* M. Cambronero, than whom it would be difficult to name a purer patriot, or a more amiable private character, was minister of Justice to King Joseph, and remained in France till the recent changes in Spain. He is a staunch reformer, and an excellent writer, whether it be on legislation or politics.

I need scarcely say that the fine arts, those handmaids to literature and science, have not yet been able, any more than the latter, to stem the torrent of obstacles, uniformly opposed to their progress in Spain.* Unlike music, which is indigenous to the soil, painting and sculpture are arts which, above all others, require the fostering hand of patronage. Charles III. was fully impressed with the salutary influence, which both are capable of exercising, in refining the manners, and improving the taste of a people, if properly directed: his choice of Raphael Mengs, who justly merited the flattering title of *El pintor filosofo*, conferred on him while living, is a proof that the paternal monarch was desirous of reviving the Spanish school, which had shared the fate of its literature, in the seventeenth century. The exquisite frescos of Mengs, and his judicious choice of subjects from the heathen mythology, to the exclusion of Saints, Martyrs, Angels and Devils, shows his anxiety to introduce a gradual change in the old system, by which the arts had been employed only to perpetuate error and increase superstition. His essays on art, and eulogiums on the most celebrated masters of Italy, were extremely well calculated to produce the desired improvement; but having the prejudices of religion, and power of the Holy Office, to contend with, the excellent advice of Mengs was neglected, so that, as in matters of legislation, a revival of the fine arts will depend, in a great measure, on the Cortes: for, when neither patronage nor protection is afforded by the rich and great, to whom can artists look with more propriety than to those who are most interested in making their talents subservient to the cause of freedom and virtue?

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* Pictures and engravings representing any subject that did not please the Inquisitors, or that had a tendency to promote reason and reflection, were rigidly prohibited by the Holy Office.

It would be endless to recapitulate all the causes that have contributed to destroy a school, which, in the days of Velasquez, Morillo and Ribera, vied with those of Lombardy, Florence and Rome: the impossibility of finding patrons amongst the grandees, and the vitiated taste of the monks and priests, were, doubtless, the most conspicuous. To be convinced of how effectually all sense of good taste and judgment in art had vanished from this country, it is merely necessary to visit a few of the churches and convents in Madrid, in which both are set at defiance to a most lamentable degree.[*] If the intention of those who were charged with the embellishment of churches, was to inspire exalted notions of the Divinity, and pure conceptions of religion, what could be less likely to produce either of these effects, than the innumerable absurdities which are represented on the walls of churches and convents in this country. It would be well for the interests of religion and truth, were these proofs of barbarism and ignorance to be collected, and share the fate of the chivalric library of La Mancha.

A variety of important considerations will naturally occur to those who are entrusted with the future direction of public taste in matters of art;

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[*] It was a common practice in Spain and Portugal to nail up a silver or gilt crown of glory over the heads of the virgin and infant Jesus, in pictures, in churches: thereby completely ruining them, in effect, if well painted; and a good picture, as an altar-piece, was usually accompanied by trumpery wooden images, on each side, dressed up in tawdry tarnished finery.

if it be intended that painting and sculpture shall contribute to promote religion, morals and patriotism, they will decide how far the representation of subjects, whether sacred or profane, that have not the most distant analogy to the business or occupations of real life, can advance either one or the other. It would, no doubt, be regarded as a calamity by the ministers of religion in Spain, if they were to be deprived of only a small portion of those objects, with which they have so long held silent converse, and before which their rosaries have been so often counted. The lovers of classical lore would be equally shocked, if the place of their deities, including sphynxes, cerberuses, centaurs, wild boars, hydras and satyrs, were to be occupied by heros, philosophers and statesmen, who had conferred favours on mankind, and taught the way to happiness by examples of wisdom and valour. However grating a change in this respect might be to the feelings of these two classes, it is certainly not unworthy the attention of a legislator to inquire, what is the true object of the arts, and how far it is expedient, exclusively to occupy the temples, or places of public resort, with objects such as those to which I have alluded; or, whether effects favourable to religion and virtue, might not be produced by a different mode of embellishing churches, colleges and public establishments of every kind.

Many as the objections are, which may be brought against the first person who attempts innovations of the above nature, it is impossible for the most ardent admirer of that heterogeneous mixture of subjects, derived from the heated imagination of fanatics and enthusiasts, whether the followers of christianity, or votaries of heathen mythology, to deny that the display of those pictures and statues to which I allude, have any influence on the moral and religious habits of the community, or that they are not totally unintelligible to the majority of the public.*

Should the artists of Spain be encouraged, either by government or individuals, to celebrate the actions of her heroes past and present, there is no country in Europe, whose history furnishes so many subjects for the chisel and pencil; whether their efforts be directed to the illustration of historical subjects, landscape, or domestic life, a wide field is open to them; and whenever the change takes place, I do not hesitate to predict, that an important auxiliary will be obtained in favor of civilization.

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* Any person who might suggest the propriety of substituting patriots and philosophers for the mythological deities, dressed and undressed; from the colossal Neptune, which forms such a conspicuous ornament of the Prado, to the Tarnesian Hercules, Venus and Muses of Las Delicias, would be apt to share the fate of Orpheus, should he broach his sacrilegious doctrine amidst the coterie of classical *dilletanti*: what would they say, if he advanced, as his humble opinion, that the constant exhibition of those statues in public did not exercise a favourable influence on morals? Exquisite and refined as the taste of the ancients was, in many respects, it may be truly said, that a too servile imitation has deprived the moderns of the spirit of originality, in several points. Those who have seen the amphitheatre at Nismes, will, however, scarcely deny, that their taste cannot be followed in all things. The love of antiquity must have been carried very far indeed where such accessories are suffered to remain. The patronage of Louis XIV. to the gods and goddesses of the Tuilleries and Versailles is excusable, when compared to the indulgence of his successors towards the emblems and devices still exposed in the above named city.

In describing the hall of Cortes, I had occasion to notice the elegance displayed, both in the architectural and sculptural embellishments of its beautiful interior: I have since heard that most of the statues and basso-relievos were prepared under the direction of a young artist named Alvarez, who had studied at Rome, and attracted universal applause, for powers that promise to rival those of the most celebrated sculptors in the "Eternal City." Madrazo, historical painter to the King, is much more free from those defects which I was prepared to meet on my arrival here, than could be expected, where so much has been done to destroy the fine arts. It is evident that M. Madrazo has profited by the lessons of his renowned predecessor, the philosophical painter; and though confined from necessity to the monkish mythology, the various historical subjects and portraits, their superior execution, both in design and colouring, which I saw in his study, convinced me that he has long since disengaged himself from the trammels of former days.*

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* M. Madrazo has studied for many years at Rome, and left a specimen of his talents at the Quirinal palace, in a beautiful fresco, painted by the desire of Pius VII.

Upon the whole, backward as the state of art may be in Spain, I feel satisfied that its elements are not less abundant here than in other places: to give harmony and regularity to them, all that artists require, is that a salutary direction be given to their studies, the excitement of that emulation, without which the finest talents remain dormant; and above all, such encouragement from the rich, the natural protectors of genius, that is as essential to talents as the dews of heaven to the vegetable world.*

There is no country where the harmony of sweet sounds has dispensed more happiness, or produced such salutary effects as in the Peninsula, nor which boasts a greater share of originality. Whether solemn or gay, serious or melancholy, there is an indescribable charm in Spanish music, which finds its way directly to the heart. The talismanic effect of Riego's hymn,† without mentioning those marches and songs composed during the war of independence, proves that like their fellow men of Erin and Caledonia, the sons of Iberia have also been indebted for their most brilliant victories to

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* In the event of there being a periodical exhibition of the works of art in this country, it has been suggested, that, besides the incentives to exertion caused by appropriate and liberal rewards on the part of government, a certain number of foreign artists of eminence ought to be allowed to exhibit their pictures: thus enabling those of Spain to correct defects, or emulate their more experienced competitors.

† As this celebrated hymn belongs not only to the literature, but to the political history of Spain, it affords me much pleasure to be able to subjoin the translation of it, by my friend Mr. Bow-

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ring; which was alluded to in a former letter. Like all those specimens of Spanish poetry which have proceeded from the pen of my friend, it is considerably improved, without departing from the sense or spirit of the original.

" The country we cherish
Hath summoned us now,
To conquer or perish,
Our promise—our vow.

" In joy and in triumph,
Serene, but delighted
Our voices united,
Sing Victory's lay :
The Cid was our father,
And proud gratulations,
Proclaim from all nations,
" His children are they !"

" Unsheath then your weapons,
For freedom and bravery,
The hirelings of slavery
Shall scatter to nought;
Like dew on the mountains,
Which morning assembles,
Their armament trembles
And flies at the thought.

the irresistible impulse of national music. This being the case, it is almost superfluous to add, that like painting and sculpture, music may also become an important ally of the patriot govern-

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" Oh mid-day of glory!
Gave history's pages,
In records of ages,
A record so bright;
As when our Riego,
By liberty lighted,
His legions invited
To liberty's fight.

" Oh! crown them with laurels,
And wreaths bright and vernal,
And glory eternal
Who first drew the sword!
They call'd on our country,
She heard them, she blessed them,
And weeping caressed them,
And rose at the word!

" She stood in her glory,
Her voice was like thunder,
Then tore she asunder,
The fetters of shame.
Death had not a terror,
It could but unchain us,
Or victory gain us
Both freedom and fame.

ment. Happy that nation, in which the people are stimulated to acts of valour and virtue, by the aid of such mild and gentle auxiliaries!

"The fetters are broken,
  The vile one who bears them,
  Shall feel as he wears them,
    They enter his soul;
We, liberty's children,
  His madness redeeming,
  March,—victory beaming,
    To liberty's goal.

"The trumpet is sounding!
  Shrink slavery and folly,
  Our conduct is holy,
    Our conscience is pure.
Ye vassals of tyrants,
  Ye tremble—ye tremble,
  Our heroes assemble,
    Our triumph is sure.

SUPPLEMENTARY LETTER.*

Admission of Ministers into the Cortes.—Non-eligibility.—Intolerance.—Jews.—Reglamento.—Remuneration.—Powers of the King.—Lanjuinais.—De Pradt.—Haller.—State of Treasury.—Colonies.—Custom Houses.—Diezmos.—Mayorazgos.—Cabarrus.—Miñano.—Political Economy.—Heiborg.

The non-admission of ministers into the Cortes, except to give information, or account for their conduct, also the exclusion of placemen and pensioners from that body, requires neither apology nor explanation; to those who are acquainted with certain effects, which such a privilege would produce in Spain, I need not say these clauses are amongst the most admirable provisions of the Spanish political code.

The non-eligibility of being re-elected, was one of those regulations, of which the utility could be proved only by experience: the result of the two sessions of the first Cortes, shows that it was scarcely less valuable than the former clauses.

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* My absence, and the consequent difficulty of my superintending these sheets in their progress through the press, have prevented the introduction of remarks which would have been excited by a revision of the sheets, and induce me to embody them in a supplementary form. The text will, I hope, be illustrated by the following observations on the political code and the impoverished state of Spain.

To the charge of intolerance, brought against the framers of the Constitution, it has been replied, that the declaration in favour of Catholicism, could not produce the same evil effects in Spain, where there are no sects to disturb religion, or distract the operations of government, as in other countries; so that the law, which tolerates only one form of worship, does no violence to any other. Several enlightened Spaniards have assured me that, without the intolerant article, in which the framers of the Constitution were obliged, in conformity with popular prejudice, to designate the national religion as *la unica verdadera!* it would have been utterly impossible to have made the new code palatable; to such a lamentable degree does long-continued oppression degrade the mind, making slavery as it were necessary to existence. The above assurance has always been accompanied by the remark, that the other parts of the Code are abundantly calculated to remove every trace of intolerance.

If Pius VII. admits the Protestant rites to be performed within a few hundred yards of the Quirinal, it is only adding to the number of contradictions already mixed up with the religious discipline of Spain, to prevent its exercise in the Peninsula.

Should the Jews ever avail themselves of the privilege of re-entering the Peninsula, accorded by the Constitution, it is to be hoped that the members of that persuasion will throw aside some of the practices which drew forth the animadversions of Voltaire, and which estrange them from mankind, in other respects besides those of religion. It ill becomes any sect to accuse others of intolerance, much less lay claims to pre-eminence, while its own habits and manners are so totally at variance with social intercourse and active benevolence.

Those internal regulations of Cortes, by which the place of assembling, decorations of the hall, method to be observed in debating and voting; also settling of the mode of trial for the members, promulgated at Cadiz, in 1813, are printed in the fourth volume of the Decrees, and have been much admired. Many modifications and improvements are, however, likely to take place; especially now that Mr. Bentham's celebrated work on popular assemblies, is in a course of publication, by his Spanish editor and friend, Toribio Nuñez, the learned professor of Salamanca. I little imagined that when I proposed the purchase of the treatises on legislation, for the garrison library of Gibraltar, in 1806, they had already occupied the attention, and excited the admiration of the most enlightened and able men in Spain!

The idea of remunerating the members of Cortes for their attendance, was doubtless derived from the practice of the North American union: the impoverished state of many who were elected, and the circumstances under which they were called on to legislate for their fellow-citizens, rendered this regulation absolutely necessary; but it is not the less entitled to become general throughout Europe; for, without such a salutary provision, what guarantee is there in the present manners against bribery and corruption?

It was on the principle that experience alone can decide as to the necessity of changing or modifying laws, the Constitutional committee added Art. 375, which interdicts any alteration in the code, for the term of eight years. In alluding to this important clause, the Committee, says the preliminary discourse, has found itself in a conflict, as to the best mode of arranging the last chapter of its work: on one side, the necessity of calming those inquietudes, occasioned by the scandalous abuse of changing Constitutions in so many European states, since the French Revolution; on the other, the importance of leaving a door open, for those emendations and improvements, of which your Majesty, (this was the style of addressing Cortes during Ferdinand's absence,) might sanction, without introducing the destructive principle of instability, appeared to us as requiring the utmost caution and circumspection. The article which prevents the Sovereign Congress from making any innovation for eight years, is, therefore, founded on prudence and a knowledge of the human heart: our Constitution will never run a greater risk, than from the moment of its promulgation until the system it establishes be consolidated, by diminishing that aversion and repugnance which oppose its progress towards this desirable end: personal resentments, private revenges, manners, customs, prejudices, all conspire against the new code: it is, therefore, proper, that time should be given to calm the agitation of the passions, and weaken the means of those who may be disposed to resist its establishment; otherwise, it is easy to conceive the effects of an opposition, fomented and sustained by those who think themselves aggrieved by errors and defects, which can, in reality, be discovered only after the restoration of order and tranquility. Such, adds the Committee, is the project of a constitution for the Spanish nation, submitted for the discussion of the Congress, and which your Majesty will examine with the impartiality and indulgence inseparable from your wisdom. The Committee is sure of having comprehended in its work, those elements which ought to constitute the felicity of the people. Its chief object has been diligently to collect all the laws of the Gothic code, and others, that may have been published from the restoration, until the decadence of our liberties, containing the principles of a limited monarchy, and which, dispersed, vague, and unconnected, wanted the form so necessary to a system capable of triumphing over the vicissitudes of time and the passions. Ignorance, folly and malice will immediately raise a cry against this plan, qualifying it as innovating, dangerous and contrary to the interests of the nation and rights of the King; but their efforts will be ineffectual, and their fallacious arguments disappear before the evidence, which proves that the basis of the fabric were regarded as practical truths by our forefathers—axioms recognized and sanctified by the experienced of many centuries. Yes! since for several hundred years the nation elected its kings, drew up constitutions, sanctioned laws, levied taxes, raised troops, declared war and made peace; appointed magistrates and other public functionaries,—was, in fact, the sovereign, and exercised all his attributes without embarrassment or controul.

It was amongst the heinous charges of the *sixty-nine*, that the political code bears too close a resemblance to the French constitution of 1791: that many articles of the latter were adopted, cannot be denied; but Villanueva has proved in his notes that there is a material difference between the two codes, and that where they do assimilate, the imitation is not servile.

In the remarks made on the Spanish constitution by some publicists, it has been observed that there is no hope of establishing freedom under its auspices, while the chief magistrate has the power of exercising a prerogative that renders the efforts of the Cortes nugatory in so many cases. Persons who argue in this way, do not require to be informed that they only repeat the old objection against royalty. In providing for the responsibility of the ministers, and excluding placemen from the Congress, the Committee felt they were about to gain an immense victory in favour of public liberty.

Having pointed out a few of those peculiarities, which give the political code of Spain such a marked superiority over the feudal institutions of other countries, it is but justice to add the names of those who drew up the original draft; these were as follows: Espiga, Oliveros, Muñoz-Torrero, Canada, all ecclesiastics; Agustin Argüelles, Perez de Castro, Fernandez de Leyva, Morales Duarez, Perez, Gutierrez de la Heurta, Valiente, Barcena, Ric, Jauregui, and Mendiola. It is a remarkable fact, that the clerical portion of the Committee were its most active and liberal members. Amongst those of the clergy who distinguished themselves by their support of the code, when each article was discussed, I need scarcely repeat the names of Cepero, Ruiz de Padron, Lardizabal, Bernabeu, Villanueva, and others already mentioned: these respected names are at the head of the religious reformers of Spain.

Upon the whole, while I regret that such respectable authorities, as Count Lanjuinais and the Abbe de Pradt, should advocate the establishment of a second chamber, in the present unfortunate situation of the Spanish nobility, where there are really no elements for its formation, I cannot help thinking that a closer examination of facts would have led to a different decision. It ought to be observed that, with the exception of these two writers, a German enthusiast named Haller, is the only person who has written, either to depreciate or propose changes in the Spanish code. As to Haller's book, it is a fit accompaniment for the representation of the *Persas*, and will doubtless moulder into dust and oblivion, on the same shelf with that insane rhapsody.

In noticing the obstacles which oppose the consolidation of the new system, I ought, perhaps, to have begun with the impoverished state of the Spanish treasury, and the disorder in the finances. What with the erroneous policy of the first ministry, and the natural consequences to public credit in every country where a change of government has been effected, nothing can be more deplorable than the present state of affairs in this respect.

Amongst the awful and impressive lessons presented to Europe, by the history of Spain, the almost inexplicable fact of her being reduced to the lowest pitch of poverty and distress, while possessed of unrivalled natural resources, and a world to boot, is certainly not the least instructive and extraordinary. There is no difficulty in accounting for the state of a country encumbered with such an overwhelming religious establishment, and so horribly governed in other respects; but, that with all the treasures of her American Colonies in her hands, not for a few years, but during three centuries, Spain should end in mendicity, must long continue to be an enigma of the most puzzling description to future generations. If colonization, in giving temporary wealth and power, only leads to decrepitude and poverty, woe to those who regard it as the foundation, rather than the accessory, of national greatness and prosperity!

While at Madrid, I gave my friend M. de Mora the two volumes edited by the learned and philosophic Dumont, on rewards and punishments; (*Essai sur les Peines et Recompenses*) with a particular request that he would lose no time in making the chapter on Colonies known to his countrymen: but the Cortes ought not to have required the aid of Mr. Bentham's unanswerable reasoning, to prove the necessity of following the maxims laid down in that beautiful chapter: they had only to look nearer home for a still more powerful monitor, and see France more rich and happy, in being relieved from a number of expensive establishments, which in furnishing additional means of corruption to her rulers, swept off thousands of her sons annually; happier in having diminished the mass of guilt, inseparable from those who make a trade of human flesh, seeking to increase their wealth by human suffering.

Although the advice which Mr. Bentham gave to the constituent assembly of France, relative to the emancipation of her colonies was not followed, that is not a sufficient reason why he should not reproduce his able pamphlet in the present state of Europe.

In proportion as the Constitutional system acquires strength and solidity, so will the natural resources of Spain be developed and taken advantage of. The division of property, not by violence and extortion, but gradually and with moderation, is, doubtless, amongst the principal means within the reach of a paternal government. The reduction of the church establishment, generally, has already thrown an immense portion of wealth into the hands of the productive classes. The sale of national domains is another source of revenue, which must be very profitable to the treasury, and the nation at large, when confidence shall be restored. I understand that it is also in the contemplation of Cortes, to take early measures with regard to the lands possessed by the Moors of Granada, who were expelled by Philip III. in 1609. It is known that the greater part of those estates fell into the hands of court favourites, and others, who had the means of bribing those entrusted with their distribution. These lands are said to compose many hundred square miles.

The Benedictine convent of the Escurial, that of Guadalupe in Andalusia, Toledo, and Santiago in Galicia are amongst the most opulent religious communities in Spain. Medinaceli, Infantado, Altamira, and Alba, are considered as the largest landed proprietors.

Should the national representatives encourage the system of free ports, thus making Spain an emporium for foreign wealth, (instead of realizing the Abbé de Pradt's opinion of Spain being the Africa of Europe, by repelling foreign merchants,) she will soon get back a part of the riches which have been wrested from her hands by violence or the superior industry of other nations. If the Cortes cannot fulfil the scheme of a French political economist, who maintained that Europe would be infinitely richer, if all its Custom houses were razed to the ground, let them, at least, try the experiment of converting a few of them into public hospitals and Lancasterian Schools.

Diezmos and *Mayorazgos*, or tythes and the laws of primogeniture, have exercised the pens of the ablest men that Spain has produced: they were objects of particular attention with Jovellanos and Cabarrus. The chapter on entails, contained in the project of an Agrarian Law, is one of the most eloquent and important in the book: aware of the delicacy of his task, this fine body of reasoning commences with a remark, not unlike "Gibbon's Apology for Royalty." Nothing, however, can be more conclusive than the facts, by which Jovellanos proves, that the existence of entails, except to a certain extent, among the nobility, is incompatible with national prosperity, and opposed to every principle of justice. The ruinous effects arising from the number and wealth of the clergy, are also treated with the usual ingenuity and address of this profound politician, whose work is really a phenomenon, considering the period in which it was written.

The letters of Cabarrus, which may be regarded as a sequel to the *Informe*, are not less calculated to convince the most hardened advocate of the "olden time," that Spain could not go on with the evils of entail, and of the tythe system. The fourth letter, on Nobility and Primogeniture, is a masterpiece of eloquence and logic. As these two works must be added to the stock of English literature, I forbear to make any extracts from them. It is impossible to read Cabarrus, without being borne along by that fine enthusiastic spirit and those generous sentiments which animate every page of his precious volume.

The mode of illustrating the subject of Mayorazgos, adopted by Miñano, is scarcely less conclusive than that of his predecessors, while it is somewhat better calculated for the ready comprehension of the multitude. In order, says he, to expose the nature of this evil, it is merely necessary that each of us should, for an instant, figure to himself, the father of a family standing up in the public square, and addressing those around him, as follows:—"I am a Spanish Citizen, who, through my exertions, and aided by fortune, have realized a capital sufficient to enable me to live at ease, with my wife and six children, the fruit of our marriage: I love each of them with equal tenderness, and am, of course, most anxious that each shall become an useful member of society. But it has occurred to me, that, in order to preserve my name to future times, without there being any necessity for my descendants sustaining it by acts of virtue, all the property I possess, shall pass to my eldest son, leaving the rest to live as they can. I confess it is a melancholy reflection to think they should be thus left to the inclemency of fortune, whilst their brother enjoys all the abundance and convenience derived from my wealth; but, I cannot relinquish the gratification of having my memory perpetuated, by being hailed as the founder of the family. Impressed with this thought, I have considered it as useless to give an education to my successor; that is to say, in preventing him from losing his time over Latin and philosophy, when he can loll in his berline, or drive four in hand better than his coachman; be a good judge of *cattle*, and ride well: if to these be added a tolerable knowledge of the first rudiments of instruction, what more does he require to cut a brilliant figure in the fashionable world? He has got a valet, who takes care of his person, and at the same time tells him how to treat his brothers and sisters, so as to accustom them to regard him as the proprietor of that which really belongs to all: the whole family is ordered to obey him, as myself; for, whenever I depart, he becomes the master; so that any one who disobeys or offends him, from my wife, down to the lowest lackey, must quit the house."

I need scarcely add that the domestic tyranny, and shameful neglect of education, pointed out here, is more peculiar to Spain, than to any other country in Europe.

With respect to the law on Primogeniture passed by the late Cortes, and by which entails are limited to a rational amount, it could not have possibly been dispensed with. I may truly add, that no greater blessing could have been conferred on the nobility and landed proprietors generally; for many of the largest landed proprietors were either so loaded with debts, or unprovided with ready money, that their estates are to this day mere deserts. It would in fact be the very acme of absurdity, to imagine Spain could ever regain a shadow of prosperity while the old system of entails continued. One of those measures which distinguish the present Congress from the former, is the law passed just before its prorogation, for distributing the town lands and other unappropriated domains, amongst the peasantry and soldiery.

It is impossible to reflect on the proverbial poverty and distress prevalent throughout Spain, and not exclusively confined to the inferior classes, without deeply lamenting the circumstances which have thrown the riches of the nation into such a narrow compass, as to render them almost as useless to the possessors, as they are to those doomed to suffer the evils of indigence. Much as political economists have done, towards elucidating the subject of population, labour, agriculture, and commerce, there is still something wanted to make the Science perfect. Is it because they conceive the present unequal distribution of property, and imperfections in government oppose an insuperable barrier to the extirpation of mendicity, that there have not been more strenuous efforts made to prove that the nations of Europe ought not to be inferior to the Mahomedans of Barbary, or savages of North America, where beggars are unknown, and where neither the temples of religion, streets nor highways, are garnished with human misery in its most hideous and distressing forms, from the poor and palsied octogenarian, to the helpless starving cripple? Surely the fear of being charged with the stale accusation of cant and hypocrisy, false sentiment, ought not to prevent the Benthams, Says, and those who second their philanthropic views, from apostrophising in its true colours, that civilization, which can boast its triumphs, and eulogize its blessings, while thousands and tens of thousands are left without any certain means of existence!

Having alluded to the subject of political economy, I ought to observe that the addition of Mr. Say's valuable "Manual," Bernardin de St. Pierre's "Thoughts of a Recluse," and the learned Destut de Tracy's celebrated "Commentary on Montesquieu," enriched by the observations of Condorcet, are amongst the French works which are added to the literature of Spain. When that of Benjamin Constant on Filangieri, is translated, the publicists of the Peninsula will be enabled to proceed towards the perfection of law, and advancement of civilization, with a great increase of useful knowledge.

A series of political aphorisms, from the pen of Mr. Heiberg, a Danish publicist, long resident in Paris, and which have been recently translated by M. Llorente, are likely to become extremely popular in Spain.

POSTSCRIPT.

July, 1822.

The events which have followed the transition from despotism to freedom in Spain, subsequent to my leaving Madrid, would, of themselves, furnish much more voluminous materials than I collected during my visit to that country; and of which a part is contained in the preceding correspondence.

If the insurrection of 1820 marks one of the most important epochs in modern history, the circumstances attendant on it will deserve to become the theme of future historians. Occupied, as the European family continues to be, with ocurrences, in which its destinies are so deeply involved, there is, perhaps, no immediate necessity for making them the subject of a regular work. As, however, such strenuous efforts are hourly made to counteract the effect of the Spanish revolution, it is indispensable that the advocates of truth and justice should be duly impressed with a sense of the benefits conferred by the late happy change, as well as informed of the errors committed by those into whose hands the fortunes of Spain, perhaps of mankind, were entrusted by the regenerating army of La Isla. It is on this account, and also with a view of giving somewhat more unity to my design, that I would fain recapitulate various measures in detail, which I can now only stop to point out as beacons to guide those who may be desirous of forming an impartial judgment on the question at issue between the two great parties which divide Spain, and have made it the theatre of civil war.

When the armies of Napoleon entered the Peninsula, in 1808, they found a government encumbered with the accumulated corruptions of several centuries. A few of the plans of reform, meditated and carried into effect by the French emperor and Afrancesados, are noticed in Letter VII; what they commenced, was, in a great degree, completed by the Cortes of 1812. Notwithstanding the want of form, inseparable from assembling Cortes in the midst of a sanguinary contest, which had already overspread the whole Peninsula, the four volumes, containing their judicious and provident decrees, establishing the elective franchise on a broad basis, abolishing feudal rights and privileges, proclaiming the liberty of the press and freedom of commerce, reforming the clergy, and appropriating the superfluous portion of church property to the wants of the state, and payment of the public creditors—form the best defence and proudest eulogium of that patriotic body. But the most important service rendered to Spain by the Congress of 1812, was, undeniably, that of framing and establishing the political code, which alone roused the nation to persevere in the struggle against France, and round which the army and people rallied in 1820.* If the reforms, above alluded to, form the highest panegyric of the national representatives, the popularity and adoption of this famous code by Naples and Piedmont, where so many others might have been chosen, proves that it is regarded as the best written constitution of our day. To say that the political code of Spain is exempt from defects, would be giving those who drew it up a degree of credit which no set of men ever merited; but, after admitting all that calumny or envy have advanced on one side, and an over-strained admiration, which produces a similar effect, on the other, it would be the height of injustice to say, that the Spanish code is not drawn up in unison with the spirit of the age, according as much liberty to the people as the existing circumstances of Europe at the time of its being drawn up would admit, and curtailing the power of the prince within bounds, which, if they have not been found sufficiently limited, appeared at least to promise all the effects that the friends of constitutional liberty could desire.

In addition to the minor imperfections discovered in the Spanish code, the want of a second Chamber is that which seems to have excited most attention. Though all the French writers who have touched on Peninsular affairs during the last two years, do not fail to point out this as a defect, Count Lanjuinais and the Abbé de Pradt, are the only persons whose celebrity gives any weight to their opinions on this important subject; without entering into an examination of the grounds, upon which the French publicists found their objections, I cannot help thinking that had they sufficiently reflected on the state of the aristocracy, its incongruous divisions, confusion of classes, impossibility of drawing a line between them, and above all, its backwardness on the score of general information, they would have paused before promulgating a single word, calculated to shake the faith of the Spanish people, in a code so essential to their civil and political salvation.

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* The reforms effected by the Cortes of 1812, are minutely detailed in a pamphlet published at Paris soon after the insurrection of La Isla. This production is attributed to Count Toreno, and is, perhaps, the greatest service he has rendered to his country.

It was equally incumbent on those who commented on the new code to consult the able and erudite essay, explanatory of all its parts, which was read to the Cortes when the commission presented the result of their labours to that body in 1812. An attentive perusal of this truly valuable explanation and commentary, would have convinced the Abbé and Count, that in treating the subject of an upper chamber, there was only a choice of evils, and in choosing the least, they had taken the wiser part. The study of *El discurso preliminar* would have done more; it would have convinced those two writers, that in proclaiming the sovereignty of the people, and limiting the power of the crown, the Cortes of 1812 only re-asserted rights which had been established by the people of Spain, when the rest of Europe was buried in the profoundest depths of ignorance and barbarism.*

More deeply versed in the difficult science of legislation, and less interested in adding needless shackles to public liberty, than many of his competitors, the penetrating and comprehensive mind of Jeremy Bentham suggested a far different mode of reasoning, at once flattering to those who drew up the code, and consonant to the interest of the Spanish people; and this, without ever seeing the preliminary discourse, or, perhaps, reading any more of the old chronicles of Spain than what is to be found in the history of Charles V. and

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* The reasons adduced for discontinuing the old practice of assembling the Cortes by *estamentos* or separate branches of clergy, grandees and deputies chosen by the people, as in Sicily, are fully detailed in the preliminary discourse, and seem quite conclusive on the subject; for it is proved, that the intervention of the two first classes was purely of feudal origin, and that even when they appeared in Cortes, they came rather as counsellors than representatives. On the other hand, the unequal distribution of the nobility in the present day, was regarded as an insurmountable barrier to the estamentos. The indeterminate condition of the nobles, the great numbers in one province, while scarcely any are to be found in another; the endless divisions and subdivisions of classes, the opposition which, by far the largest portion would have made to the establishment of an

Mr. Hallam's excellent work. When those patriots who dreaded the chance of seeing the matter obtain popularity among the Cortes and people, requested his opinion on a subject so interesting to Europe as well as to Spain, the British publicist instantly communicated his sentiments in an address to the Cortes and people, which, judging from its powerful logic, seemed to be rather the fruit of laborious research and long study, than the production of a few hours. The reception of this paper, translated by M. de Mora, and read in all the patriotic societies of Spain, amidst the acclamations of the most enlightened portion of the community, civil, military and religious, is the best proof of the justice of its reasoning and soundness of its doctrines. As the letters of the philosopher of Westminster to Count Toreno, in those parts of the Constitution which he considers really

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upper chamber, if confined to the grandees; and above all, that disrepute into which nearly the whole had fallen, their ignorance, prejudices, and consequent disposition to destroy rather than preserve liberty; these and various other reasons, formed an insuperable bar to a second chamber. According to the opinion of Count Toreno, himself a noble, all the dignity and independence of the peerage, in the eyes of a Spanish grandee, are not to be put in competition with that of having free ingress to the royal palace, or being placed on the king's domestic establishment. Accustomed to regard the employments of the household as the climax of worldly honours, and greatest gift of fortune, possessing numerous entails, they did not esteem an hereditary magistracy, however elevated, as equal to the most insignificant office of the court.

defective, are, I understand, before the British public, it is unnecessary for me to enter into this part of the subject.

I do not pretend to justify the clause which prohibits any change till the code shall have been tried eight years, on the simple principle of not tolerating an article that might involve the total destruction of the best code that ever was framed; although there is no reason to apprehend that this will be the case with regard to Spain, it is, perhaps, to be regretted that the Cortes had not modified an article which might have been so fatal to the national interests had there been any glaring defect discovered that would have rendered its march incompatible with practical experience.

Leaving the defects of the Spanish constitution to the examination of wiser heads, I shall merely suggest that it would, perhaps, have been more consistent with the principles of justice, and that indulgence called for by circumstances, had the code been estimated rather by the innumerable abuses removed under its auspices, and the many advantages it has produced, than in signalizing minor blemishes. Without extending his inquiries beyond the labours of the first Cortes, it would be exceedingly difficult for the greatest proficient in politics to calculate the immense mass of human suffering and positive evil removed since the 9th of July, 1820. Some idea may be formed of the number and magnitude of those evils, when I add that those connected with the system of tythes, convents, noviciates, senorial privileges, finances, agriculture, education and the administration of government in all its branches, and which the national council had passed laws to remove, would fill a large volume. A detailed account of all that the Cortes of 1820 did towards destroying the hydra which had so long gnawed the vitals of Spain, and realized the frightful picture with which Goldsmith concludes his prospect of society, will form an important part of modern history; while the existence of those monstrosities, when civilization had made such rapid advances, cannot fail to be one of the standing miracles of the nineteenth century.

As will ever be the case where the election of representatives springs from the free and unbiassed choice of the people, uninfluenced by intrigue or corruption, the great majority of Cortes, of 1820, was composed of men, no less distinguished for their patriotism than their virtues; that they possessed a large share of talent, both as orators and statesmen, is proved by the debates and public acts.

Having thus shortly paid my humble tribute of applause to men, who were called upon rather to promulgate and proclaim the new principles of civilization, embraced by the whole European commonwealth, than to legislate for Spain, the same love of truth which induces me to praise, does not allow me to exempt them from blame: to prevent the charge of presumption, I shall, however, notice only those errors which have been signalized by public opinion: that tribunal of reason, whose reign is, I trust, destined to be the future arbiter of nations, as well as of individual conduct. Many of the errors laid to the charge of the Cortes were, doubtless, inseparable from their position and those inveterate prejudices with which they had to contend. If the reasoning which is often adopted in scanning the conduct of individuals could be applied to public bodies consistently with the interests of states, there would be no difficulty in finding an excuse for the faults into which the Spanish representatives of 1820 are said to have fallen; but, as this is not the case, they must quietly endure the inexorable verdict of public opinion and posterity without the consolation of remedy or appeal.

Tried in the crucible of adversity, intimately acquainted with the state of Spain, and the extent of its evils; convinced that none but powerful remedies, hitherto unemployed, perhaps unthought of, could alone cure the diseases of the body politic, it may well be asked, why, instead of leaving the momentous question at issue between Spain and her former colonies to the management of ministers who were evidently unequal to the task of settling them, such a declaration did not emanate from the congress, as would have, at once, put an end to all hostility between South America and Spain, convincing the former, that neither its liberties nor independence would be disputed? It will be answered, that an article of the Constitution opposed such an avowal: the public will reply, whatever militated against the principles of reason and justice ought to have been studiously avoided by those who are entrusted with sovereignty. Well may contemporaries and posterity ask, why was the *amnesty* to the Afrancesados deferred for several months after the assemblage of Cortes, and when passed, why it should have been drawn up in such a way as to be regarded as null, unjust and impolitic? Null, because the Cortes usurped the judicial power in condemning the followers of King Joseph to be deprived of their honorary distinctions, rank and employments; which, according to the political code, could be done only in a legal tribunal, and after hearing the defence of the accused; unjust, because it imposes pains and penalties on those who were guilty of no crime, and who had frequently applied to the courts of justice to be tried for their imputed offences, without being ever able to obtain a hearing: impolitic, because the consolidation of the new system required that public opinion should be consulted, as well as a sincere union promoted among all Spaniards capable of influencing that opinion: whereas, the law in question produced a totally different effect, since it inflicts a deep wound on more than ten thousand families! No answer that the Cortes of 1820 can give will satisfy posterity and their contemporaries on this most essential error.* No wonder that all those who are interested in the happiness of Spain, and the progress of freedom, should express their astonishment at the impunity which has attended the authors of the massacre at Cadiz, and a thousand other conspirators, who sought to light up the flame of civil war, under the very eyes of the Congress: the wonder increases, when it is evident that the smallest reflection must have convinced the members that lenity was sure to increase the evil; while nothing but prompt and stern justice could stay the guilty abettors of murder and rapine. Other questions might also be put, though it is probable the advocates of the Congress would more easily palliate, if they could not justify, certain transactions relative to the Dutch creditors of Spain, imprudent restrictions on foreign commerce, and a few more points. I cannot, however, avoid noticing a regulation by which the fatal policy of the Cortes towards the South American Colonies was greatly aggravated, if the constitution itself was not violated; I allude to their excluding the deputies from those countries from the extraordinary Cortes contrary to the express tenor of Art. 161 of the Code; which declares, that the Cortes extraordinary shall be composed of the same deputies who compose the ordinary Cortes, during the two years of their deputation; according to this clause it is evident those members who sat in the ordinary Cortes of 1820, and 1821, ought also to have been admitted into the extraordinary session with which their deliberations terminated. The motive assigned for this exclusion was considered far from conclusive; that because the insurgent colonies had not named deputies, they did not wish to do so, and were therefore regarded as having renounced their right to possess representatives in the Cortes of Spain! The real cause could not be concealed: a message from the King required that the state of the colonies should be taken into consideration, and measures adopted to reconcile them to the mother country; in order, therefore, to prevent the exposure of many facts favourable to the cause of independence, it was natural to exclude those who were sure of bringing them forward. It was not among the least glaring of the mischiefs which must naturally follow such a measure, that the independents who might have been disposed to return to the yoke before, would, on hearing of this circumstance, relinquish every thought of reconciliation; since those to whom they had looked up as their principal protectors and natural safeguards against arbitrary power, broke through the fundamental law of the land.

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* This tardy and inadequate law has also been characterized as anti-constitutional, scandalous, cruel and inhuman! But as these epithets have occurred only to those more immediately affected by its operation, I forbear offering any comment on them.

It ought to be observed that the foregoing act did not take place till the first ministry had attained an influence in the congress not less fatal to public liberty than to its own reputation. It is extremely difficult to say how far the Cortes can be blamed for those measures into which they were led by the fears or false representations of the ministers. It should be observed that while the congress was proceeding in the glorious career of reform, which marked the first session, a schism took place between the patriots of 1812, who had occupied the places of trust, and those of 1820, or the heroes of La Isla and their adherents. This arose from various causes; of which the principal was an early disposition on the part of the former to check those patriotic impulses which the latter thought absolutely necessary for the consolidation of the new system. It was also evident that the extreme lenity to which I have before alluded appeared to the heroes of La Isla as fraught with future injury to the interests of liberty. The orders issued in August to disperse the army of La Isla, just as several daring conspiracies had been discovered, and while the assassins of Cadiz, and executioner of Valencia, remained unpunished, filled every patriot mind with horror and indignation. A deputation was dispatched with a remonstrance from San Fernando, and not long after, Riego, himself, came to Madrid, where he was received with open arms by all classes of the people. Having solicited and obtained two audiences of Ferdinand, the patriot chief represented to his Majesty, in strong, but respectful terms, the discontent caused throughout Spain and Andalusia, in particular, by the determination of his ministers to dissolve the army of San Fernando, upon which the hopes of the nation had long been founded. It was worthy of the hero of Las Cabezas to declare on this occasion, that he joyfully renounced the Captain-Generalship of Galicia; adding, that he would rather continue at the head of the patriot force, small as it was, than govern a kingdom! From the King, Riego was referred to the Ministers, and having vainly endeavoured to convince them of the dangers which might attend the proposed measures, and offering, in his own name, as well as that of the army at large, to serve without pay or emolument, if they were but permitted to maintain their position; the interview ended by a flat rejection of his overtures. The popular ferment continuing to increase, a song, called for by the audience, at the theatre of La Cruz, while Riego was present, furnished the Ministers with a pretence, which they seemed to have sought, for exiling the hero to his native city Oviedo. Riego's last effort in favour of the army, was a request to be heard at the bar of Cortes; unable to obtain this favour, he transmitted a written paper to the Congress, setting forth the motives of his own conduct, and that of his companions; after refuting the calumnies of those who asserted motives of personal ambition to the chiefs of the patriotic army, pointing out the absurdity of justifying its dispersion, on the score of economy, and stating that the number of disaffected, who crowded the prisons, was a sufficient reason for the public alarm, his eloquent appeal closed, by supplicating the interference of the national representatives, to prevent a measure fraught with so much danger to the cause of liberty.* Leaving Madrid immediately after, Riego's journey to the capital of Asturias was one continued triumph. The abrupt dispersion of the patriot corps, and the persecution of its most popular chief, were fatal to the popularity of the ministers, and caused a division among the patriots, which has continued to increase ever since; producing those consequences, which never fail to result from similar misunderstandings.

It is a most painful alternative to be thus forced to condemn the conduct of men, upon whom so much well deserved praise is lavished in my letters; but, there are so many circumstances on record, to prove that the patriots of 1812 either mistook the true principles of justice, or wilfully perverted them, for the mere sake of oppressing the patriots of 1820; for such was the new mode of designating men whose interests are the same, that it is impossible to espouse their cause without betraying that of truth and liberty.

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* Riego's letter to his companions at San Fernando, published and circulated at Madrid, on the 3rd of September, is a model of patriotism and moderation.

The Duke del Parque, a grandee of the first class, and an able general, also the Mæcenas of Spain, was amongst the most conspicuous of those who espoused the cause of Riego and the army on this occasion. The Duke is, besides, one of those who has never swerved from the constitutional path. His conduct as a member of the present Cortes is that of a radical reformer in the truest sense of the word.

Many circumstances have transpired, which prove that the first ministry must have been actuated rather by a desire of retaining their places, and motives of personal resentment against their adversaries, than genuine patriotism. Their persecution of Riego, and those who ranged themselves on his side, particularly M. de Mora's arrest and imprisonment, without trial or accusation, the reported interception of private letters, and the employment of spies, in the manner of their neighbours, are acts more worthy of the advisers of a German despot, than the ministers of a constitutional King*. These ignoble acts were crowned by two others, which have made an impression on Spain never to be effaced: I allude to the shutting up the patriotic societies; the law against petitioning, and the liberty of the press, with which the session of extraordinary Cortes of 1821 closed: for the men whom the patriots of La Isla had taken out of dungeons, and recalled from exile, to assume the reins of government, thus to raise their sacrilegious hands against the goddess whom they were bound to defend at the very cost of their lives, was, indeed, an act of daring impiety: but, like all other crimes against freedom, they will have their reward: I venture to predict that the ignominy which marked the exit of the first ministry from power will accompany them through life; and that those patriots of 1812 who seconded their views in the Cortes, will participate in their deep, their irremissible disgrace!

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* The constitutional ministers of Spain ought to have left *Espionage* and its sister crime, violating the secret of letters, to the countries north of the Pyrenees, in which those curses of modern civilization have done so much towards the destruction of virtue and morality.

While I join in the unqualified disapprobation, so generally expressed against the late ministry, I return, with no less pleasure, to that portion of the measures adopted by the Sovereign Congress, which really deserve every praise that present times and posterity can bestow. The reports or *Dictamens* of the respective Commissions, as well as the projects of laws founded on them, have been, in almost every instance, models of fine composition, and sound reasoning: that proposing rewards to the heroes and army of La Isla, also the report which accompanied the military constitution, are particularly worthy of panegyric, as disclosing a profound knowledge of human nature, and as having done more towards securing the hearts of the soldiery than if the plunder of Mexico had been once more thrown open to them.*

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* A collection of the reports made by the fourteen commissions

The recompence in land and money, promised by Quiroga, and confirmed by the Cortes, as also those regulations which enable every individual of the army to aspire to the highest rank, without the fear of being supplanted through the caprice of a minister, or by the mere pecuniary advantages of an

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into which the Cortes are divided at the commencement of every season, would, of themselves, furnish excellent materials for describing the state of Spain, as well as estimating the extent of political knowledge possessed by the Congress. They have generally been distinguished for perspicuity and fine composition. That relative to the army of San Fernando is justly considered as a master-piece, and, together with a few more, deserve to be known throughout Europe.

The confirmation of the promises made by Quiroga and Riego, was a sacred obligation and indispensable duty of Cortes; according to these, each of the soldiers forming part of the army of La Isla, and flying column, that reached Cordova, are to have a grant of land and sum of money, proportioned to the length of their services. We have heard of conquerors, ancient and modern, increasing their dominions at the point of the sword and cannon's mouth: and in obedience to the law of the strongest, distributing the goods and chattels of the conquered to their Barons, Generals, &c. The transfer of states and human souls is amongst these phenomena, which, from their frequency, have ceased to excite the smallest wonder in the present day: but I believe the soldiers of San Fernando are the first who ever received a rood of ground or a single farthing for giving freedom to their country!

Since the Cortes have displayed such a profound knowledge of the mode in which an army ought to be constituted, so as to become at once the defenders of the soil and firmest support of constitutional liberty, it is hoped that when their engagements with the soldiers of La Isla are religiously fulfilled, they will be equally entitled to praise for their arrangements with regard to inexperienced rival, are all guarantees in favour of the new code, which will carry it through every difficulty in triumph. The same praise ought to be extended to the chapter of the military constitution, which provides for each man being instructed in the rudiments of an useful and solid education. The right of intervening in the elections of the national representatives had already been settled by

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creating a navy; that of Spain having ceased to exist, from the same causes which brought about the ruin of every other branch of her physical force. In conjuring the Cortes of Spain never to lose sight of making citizens of her soldiers, I should be neglecting an essential point, most intimately connected with her future prosperity, were I not to remind them, that they cannot aspire to external independence without a navy. In a state of permanent, and I may add, natural hostility with the pirates of Africa, it would be idle for Spain to expect any degree of commercial importance while these monsters remain unsubdued.

Though deprived of her South American Colonies, there are still very considerable resources left to establish a respectable naval force, particularly should Cuba be retained, and it cannot be so without a navy. I need scarcely add, that the number and magnificence of its ports, and the activity of its seamen, which I have had ample opportunities of observing, point the Peninsula out as fully capable of becoming a formidable maritime power. If that national jealousy and ridiculous pride, which has already done so much injury to Spain, is not perpetuated by the new code, and this can hardly be the case, I would recommend those charged with re-creating her navy, to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the system which raised England to the highest pitch of naval glory ever attained by any nation ancient or modern; and, above all, scrupulously to mark the period of its decay; infinitely the greatest calamity that has befallen the "land of scholars and the nurse of arms!"

the political code. The measures taken to suppress highway robberies are not likely to produce much effect, while the priesthood and their deluded followers are seeking to renew the former despotism: they exist, however, and are not without their use in those places which happen to be uninfested by servile banditti. Innumerable obstacles oppose the establishment of civil and criminal codes in Spain, likely to answer the ends of justice: those adopted, partake too much of the defects natural to be expected in a country where excessive severity has hitherto been practised. If, however, the executive government were sufficiently energetic, to cause the new codes, such as they are, to be strictly executed, property and person would acquire a degree of security in Spain, which they have never yet had. It is reserved for a future Congress to soften down the barbarisms which Mr. Bentham has pointed out; and while the criminal code of our country is still encumbered with the horrors of the eleventh century, surely the people of Spain have no right to be over fastidious?*

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* Next to the horrible procedure of the Holy Office, is undoubtedly to be ranked the state of civil and criminal law in Spain: it would, in fact, require volumes to describe only a small part of the injustice and cruelty they have entailed on the nation. The author of "Pan y Toros," characterizes the legal system, generally, as a body of perverted law, engendered during the most corrupt period of the Roman Empire, to serve the purposes of a monarchy the most confused and despotic ever established. The Code of Justinian, composed from the remnants and caprices of Jurisconsults, and the compilation of Gratian, filled with false

The peculiarly unsettled state of affairs, and embarrassment in the finances, have operated as a bar to extending the blessings of education to the

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decretals and apochryphal canons, bringing to light our *Partidas*, and opening a door to the most ridiculous cavillings of logists, our compilations and acts accorded, our mode of giving judgment, all originate in this vitiated system. The Castilian legislation was cradled in an age the most ignorant and brutalized; one in which the sword and the lance were the supreme law; when the man who had not dispatched three or four combatants was regarded as vile and infamous; an age when bishops commanded armies, and, instead of their flocks, educated wolves and leopards; in which the folds of the shepherd were converted into cages for tygers, and in which the spark of an excommunication lighted up the voracious blaze of a sanguinary civil war; in which the system of feudal rights led the vassals along like beasts of the field, and was introducing distinct races, as amongst horses and dogs; finally, an age that knew no other right than force, no other authority but power!

Although the Constitution provides especially for the independence of the Judges, and general administration of justice, it is lamentable to be obliged to confess, that scarcely any melioration has yet been effected in this most vital branch of government. The multifarious evils arising from those parts of the old system which remain are a source of just regret to the patriots, and have been the subject of many eloquent speeches in Cortes, as well as several valuable publications. The establishment of juries, though opposed by so many obstacles, will be amongst the advantages of the new code. Mr. Jonama has published an excellent essay on that grand bulwark of English liberty and law; proving the necessity of introducing it into Spain, and suggesting the best mode of forming juries.

The efforts made by Mr. Bentham to impress on the legislators poorer classes: it is enough to know that the Cortes are duly impressed with the vital importance of this subject, which is very properly regarded as

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of 1820 the necessity of adopting a totally new system of civil and criminal law, is amongst the most conspicuous and meritorious acts of that great man's life. Feeling that I could render no greater service to Spain, than in persuading those in power to adopt principles which have been so obstinately rejected in other places, I added one to the number of attendants at the levees of Agustin Arguelles, the Minister of the Interior; not to ask for a place, or a licence to import tobacco, like some of his visitors, but to inform his Excellency that a parcel of books, containing many of the English philosopher's opinions on criminal law, prison discipline, &c., had been sent to Cadiz, and begged to know if it had been received; adding, that having understood the new government intended to consider any opinions which might be offered, calculated to improve the legal system, I hoped he would do me the favour to accept the few tracts of Mr. Bentham, which I had brought with me. Though evidently tinctured with the suspicion which makes almost every man on the continent doubt the sincerity of even his own brother, I had no reason to be dissatisfied with the reception of M. Arguelles. Whatever opinion he might have formed, I felt that an advance, made in the name of Jeremy Bentham, was conferring a very high honour on any minister of Europe, and this was a sufficient recompence. I have since heard, that, after much deliberation, M. Arguelles wrote a letter to the Philosopher of Westminster, thanking him for his present of books and other attentions. If, as I further understood, the said letter was sent without any date, there was a degree of trickery in the contrivance, by no means unusual on the continent, but more worthy of a quibbling tradesman than a Minister of State.

The character of Mr. Bentham must have placed him beyond the suspicion of wishing to interfere in the concerns of Spain, the great corner-stone of the new social edifice; for, without instruction, on the broadest basis, it must inevitably fall.*

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except from those motives of philanthropy which have marked every action of his life; but so ignorant are the continental nations of our notions and habits, that they cannot conceive, much less believe, in the possibility of a man devoting his life and fortune to the good of human kind, as in the case of such men as the Benthams, Cartwrights, and Clarksons of the present day. Where selfish motives can be attributed to these, no wonder that an insignificant individual like myself should be pointed out as a spy in the pay of Ministers, as I have been, at Paris, by certain *Liberals*, and at Bayonne and Madrid, by the Marquis d'Almenara!

To return to Mr. Bentham: I rejoice to perceive that he has adopted the course which always appeared to me as most likely to realize his own grand maxim, of benefiting *the greatest number*, that of a work which should be of universal application. His Codification Plan, addressed to all nations, is admirably calculated to fulfil this end; the time must come when this pamphlet, in which the vigour of youth is so happily blended with the wisdom of fifty years' practical experience, cannot fail to be consulted by European legislators.

The prejudice and jealousy which have prevented some members of the Cortes from encouraging the mild and humane suggestions of Mr. Bentham, did not prevent a vote of thanks from being sent to him, through M. de Mora: this testimony, no less

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* It was extremely natural for the other Reformers of Europe to feel a deep interest in what was passing south of the Pyrenees; nor is it a matter of wonder that they should have expected the adoption of those principles, which they had themselves proclaimed for so many years, before their establishment in Spain.

Whenever the legislators of Spain change their fatal and irrational system of exclusion and prohibition, adopted by the last Cortes to gratify a

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honourable to the receiver than to those who gave it, was drawn up, and voted, on the 21st October, 1820, and expressed the gratitude of the Cortes for the offer of the "learned Englishman, to co-operate with his well-known powers and talents, in consolidating the constitutional system."

The flattering manner in which the patriotic societies, and the leaders of the Comuneros, received the address to the Cortes, is more than a compensation for those little-minded jealousies which have opposed his principles in the Congress, rendering the new criminal code not much less barbarous, in many respects, than that of Rome and Lombardy, is altogether unworthy of men having any pretensions to patriotism. Romero Alpuente, Morenes Guerra, Diaz Moralo, Puigblanch, and a few others, with whom my friend, Mr. Bowring, communicated on the subject of adopting Mr. Bentham's principles, have acted a most praise-worthy part throughout; but as they could not stem all the torrent of old prejudices, the honour of being superior to jealousy, when the happiness of the subject many is at stake, is reserved for a future Congress.

The idea of a recurrence to first principles, and the adoption of a primitive legislation, without any regard for the existing system of Europe, was amongst those ethereal dreams, which never fail to mark the earlier stages of political regeneration in every country. M. de Mora was so impressed with this notion,

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If all these wishes have not been realized, it arises from causes over which it has not been always in the power of the Cortes, or of the ministers, to possess sufficient controul: the measure which I am about, shortly to notice, is, however, an exception to this rule, and may, therefore, be laid to the account of errors few isolated manufacturers—an attempt to put the favourite theories of certain would-be political economists in practice—an immense field will be

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that it formed the subject of several conversations between him and myself. However much these projects of felicity are in contradiction to the corruption of the times; they deserve to be considered with indulgence, as springing from the best motives. Should the doctrines of Mr. Bentham gain that ascendancy which there is every reason to expect, the generous wishes of my friend will be, in a great measure, realized.

Although those feelings of rivalry, which prevent the publicists and politicians of every nation forming the European Family from making any concession on the score of pre-eminence, have interfered considerably with the fame of our great countryman, in France, I have never yet met with any instance in which his immense acquirements in legislation have not been freely acknowledged. Mr. Gontard, an able lawyer, has even devoted several years of his life to analyzing the treatises on legislation, under the title of *Tables Synoptiques*; of which three have appeared. This may be considered as one of the most ingenious and laboured efforts yet made to illustrate the works of Mr. Bentham. I ought not to conclude without adding, that the Philosopher is indebted to Mr. Pagés, the eloquent historian of the Constituent Assembly, for a most flattering notice in the *Courier Français*, and to my young friend, Felix Bodin, for a spirited biographical sketch, in *La Biographie des Contemporains*. It must be flattering to the feelings of Mr. Bentham, to be thus adopted by all the countries of Europe during his life-time. If the Legislator of Queen-square-place be not a Cosmopolite, where is one to be found?

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with which they are likely to be charged in future as well as present times.

It has been at once a source of regret and astonishment to opened to that enterprize and industry, which the new commercial regulations have, almost, annihilated. A volume might be written on the errors into which the Cortes have been led, with regard to native manufactures and foreign trade; by which the Peninsula has ceased to be an entrepôt for the wealth of other nations, excepting through

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the friends of good government and morality, that after having prohibited those games of chance, which are such a fertile source of misery and crime in neighbouring countries, where a revenue is drawn from them, as also from female prostitution, the Lottery, the most ruinous of all, is retained. It was the bounden duty of the Spanish Cortes to proclaim that this mode of enriching the treasury, (if it does enrich it), at the expense of public morals, and to entail poverty on thousands, spreading a baneful example throughout the community, of both sexes, was totally incompatible with freedom, which rejects every thing that militates against morality and virtue. As to the Minister of Finance, he ought to have spurned at the thought of adding a real to the revenue by such means, which loses none of its iniquity by being so long tolerated in the rest of Europe. With respect to the Cortes, I venture to add, that there was not a single member of that body who would not have cheerfully acquiesced in the total abolition of this pest; and, at the same time consented to substitute any other tax, no matter how oppressive, rather than see such a stain continue on the new government; great blame must, therefore, be attached to the minister, for not proposing this measure, so essential to the reputation of the government, while it is impossible to exonerate the leading men of Cortes for their indifference on the subject. Those to whom I address myself, both at Madrid and Paris, will not be surprised at the warmth with which I now express my sentiments on a point that has excited the animadversions of the ablest writers and most zealous senators, both of England and France.

the ruinous and partial medium of smugglers; while her manufacturers have neither capital, industry, nor talent, sufficient to supply the market. A part of the evils arising from this fatal system has been ably exposed by Mr. Bowring, whose local knowledge on the subject enabled him to elucidate it more than any other person.* The

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Mr. Keratry, a patriotic member of the French chamber of deputies, has greatly distinguished himself, by his efforts to obtain the suppression of the lottery in France, where it has long been a real scourge and incalculable source of misery to the lower classes, as every possible means are adopted to inveigle them into the sacrifice of their hard earnings, in the vain and idle hope of adding to their means, through this sink of corruption. The philanthropic efforts of Mr. H. G. Bennet, in our own country, are too well known to require illustration.

When the certain mischief, occasioned by this pernicious source of revenue, are added to the consideration that its abolition by the Cortes of Spain and Portugal would have been most probably followed in France and England, if not in other places, I am sure the Cortes of 1820, will admit that this was amongst their most important omissions.

* "*Observations on the Restrictive and Prohibitory Commercial System*," &c.—This able Pamphlet contains so complete an exposition of the evils arising from the measures of Cortes, relative to trade, that nothing is left for others to add; except, that the mischief has continued to increase, from the moment of hurrying the prohibitory law through all its stages, as if its inconsiderate partisans thought ruin would not arrive soon enough, up to the present hour; when, the little foreign commerce enjoyed by Spain is carried on by smugglers and custom-house officers!

The ignorance on one hand, and fatality on the other, which has marked the proceedings of the Spanish legislature on the communications I have, myself, received respecting these important points, are as conclusive as it is possible to conceive; yet, such is the difficulty, I may say impossibility, of rooting out old prejudices

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subject of trade, has operated most powerfully against the constitutional system. In order to prove the extent to which smuggling is carried in the Peninsula, I need only quote a passage from the letter of a friend, received from Madrid within a few days, and which only describes one of the evils arising from the commercial system:—"I met a revenue officer to-day,' says my correspondent, 'who told me he had not received his arrears of pay for some weeks.' 'How do you live?' 'As the government does not pay us, the contrabandista does; we are therefore in his interest, and defend him against the government, for it is our duty to do so. If the ministers paid us, we should defend it against the contrabandista, as it would, in that case, be our duty: we must eat to live: can you blame us? The contrabandista never cheats us; we can depend on his honour; as to our pay, it is sure and liberal, but it is not so with the other party. If I can serve you, command me: I can give you ample security for my fidelity. *Hasta la Vista!* good bye.' Thus ended our dialogue, and such is the state to which the prohibitory laws have reduced Spain."

It is not however to be inferred from the above facts, that many monstrous evils of the old system have not been removed by the Cortes: of those, the abolition of internal custom-houses and barriers at the entrance of every town and city of Spain, by which innumerable abuses were practised, is of itself one of the most beneficial measures of the first session. The inferior officers of the customs would not now dare to lay on duties on foreign imports according to their own caprice, as they were frequently in the habit of doing on English manufactures during the reign of terror. The removal of these sources of tyranny and extortion has placed the people of Spain a hundred years before their French neighbours, amongst whom the defective system of the *Octroi* is from certain minds, that there is no calculating to what a precipice the rulers of Spain will lead their distracted and impoverished country, before they are brought into a rational mode of acting and thinking in commercial affairs.

Most willingly would I extend this voluminous postscript, by an allusion to a great variety of other matters, relative to the internal administration of affairs in the Peninsula; and, above all, to those foreign relations which place the government in a state of almost open hostility with her nearest neighbour. I can, however, stop only to offer a few remarks on the state of parties; in which some attempt will be made to account for the present disturbed state of the nation, and point out those consequences to which it will, most probably, lead on a future day. It is also in an impartial sketch of the different parties, who are either struggling for power, or only aim at the consolidation of public liberty, that those obstacles which oppose that desirable object can be best illustrated.

It has frequently occurred to me that the future legislator, who makes history a primary object of study in his system of public education, as the

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still maintained, opposing the most formidable obstacles to commercial prosperity. Perhaps it would be unjust to mention this defective mode of collecting the revenues of a country without alluding to our own system of excise, as being infinitely more inquisitorial and oppressive.

only means enabling nations to avoid the shoals on which the liberties of their forefathers were wrecked, or those of their posterity destroyed, ought to insert an especial clause, rendering it indispensable for every individual of the republic to be thoroughly acquainted with the origin, and know how to distinguish between parties and factions; the line being now so indistinctly drawn, that there are constant misconceptions on the subject, no less injurious to freedom, when once established, than calculated to retard its progress in a state of comparative slavery.

It would, perhaps, be impossible to name a greater desideratum in political literature, than a history of the rise and progress of those parties, which have exercised such an influence on the destinies of mankind, from the Guelphs and Gibellines of Italy, down to those of the present day. There could, certainly, be no better guide for the *friends of freedom*; and, although it would disclose all the petty passions, as well as the most atrocious crimes of our nature, no reader, however superficial, could fail to profit by such a work. As our crimes and follies, vices and weaknesses, have, for the most part, a common origin, that of self-love and personal ambition carried to excess, there is no doubt but that the observations made on the parties and factions which divide Spain, are equally applicable to those of every other country. I have been struck by merely one distinction: it appears to me that religious fanaticism renders the hatred between men of different opinions much more intense in the Peninsula than any where else. To prove this assertion, I need only point out the relentless and vindictive hostility with which the Afrancesados have been pursued by men who are, in their turn, objects of equal aversion to the servile faction. When we reflect on the consequences of this hostility to the greatest sufferers, the unfortunate people, it must be regarded as not being amongst the least of those evils entailed on the Spanish nation, by so wide a departure from the original spirit of Christianity. But before I designate parties by their respective names, it may be proper to hazard a word or two, as to those qualities which distinguish party from faction: without recollecting Mr. Burke's definition, or that attributed to Sir James Macintosh, I should imagine that any set of men who unite for the purpose of effecting some salutary reform, or pursuing a line of policy consistent with the national dignity; men who will accept power on no other condition than being permitted to carry their plans of improvement into effect, may well be entitled to the name of party. As in matters of religious belief there will always be a diversity of opinion, so it is natural for bodies of men to adopt a different mode of obtaining the same end: those who coalesce for the benefit of the many, as well as themselves, do not therefore forfeit their claim to the dignified name of party. Faction, on the contrary, is made up of men who have no consideration beyond self; whose whole study it is to promote their personal interests, without any regard for honour or virtue; men who regard the grossest abuses, and most crying acts of tyranny, as blessings, so that they may attain and remain in undisturbed possession of emolument and power. Party is governed and guided by reason; faction, by every ignoble and ungenerous passion. This inadequate sketch of what constitutes faction will be easily filled up with still more hideous accessories, by all who have given due attention to the study of history, ancient or modern. It remains for me to add, that there are, according to the above definition, three parties and one faction in Spain. To begin with the followers of King Joseph:—the principles of this party, and the motives of their conduct, have been already noticed: although only brought forward as a distinct party, by the enterprize of Napoleon, it would not be difficult to trace its origin to a much earlier period; the individuals who compose it are amongst the most enlightened and virtuous men of Spain, and pique themselves on having led the way in reform, without being slaves to many of the monarchical doctrines which continue to form the creed of the servile faction. The Afrancesados are decidedly aristocratical: possessed of so much learning themselves, it would be extremely difficult to persuade them that the people are sufficiently well informed to be capable of forming correct notions in matters of Government.

If this party should get into power they would most probably modify those points of the Constitution which are supposed to savour too strongly of democracy; but having fixed the basis of liberty according to their own standard, and this is very liberal, there is no party in Europe that would be more scrupulous in executing the laws with strictness and impartiality. It would not be difficult to find a class of politicians in England and France, who are distinguished by traits similar to those of the Afrancesados.

From the tendency of public opinion to espouse still more popular doctrines in government, no less than from the comparative smallness of their number, it is not very probable the Afrancesados will ever obtain the ascendancy in Spain; yet, such is the mass of talents and virtue possessed by them, that the want of such a body, to take a part, and co-operate in the administration of public affairs, has been most severely felt, and ought, therefore, to be regarded as a national calamity. Without attempting to inquire how so desirable an end is to be attained, or whether it is likely to take place, I shall pass on to their rivals.

There never was a party formed under such favourable auspices as that of the Liberales, commencing with the French Revolution, when the great majority of the European Family manifested such a decided inclination to follow the example shown by those who made the first efforts in favour of reform in France; this party may be said to have represented the most respectable, well-informed, and numerous class of thinking men in Spain. Although their wishes were frustrated by the old aristocracy and priesthood, an opportunity of shewing themselves to full advantage was presented on the entry of Napoleon's army in 1808. The cry of national independence emanating from the people, was seconded by the Liberales, who thenceforth became the natural rulers, and allied to England, assumed the reins of Government. The fact of our having commenced and prosecuted a war to stop the progress of reform in France, and of having, while occupied in that war, been the means of bringing about a radical reform in Spain, as well as establishing that very constitution, which has since become the terror of legitimacy, is, doubtless, one of the most singular anomalies of modern history. If I did not feel more regard for the interest of truth than I do for those of party or faction, I, perhaps, might hesitate thus publicly to proclaim, that the Spanish constitution of 1812 is, in a great measure, the work of the Tory Ministry of England; for, had it not been for their support and co-operation with the Liberales who framed it, who will deny that Napoleon would not have succeeded? This is an important truth; it opens a vast field for argument, and is advanced without fear of contradiction.

In adverting to the conduct of the Liberales, both as members of the government, and as forming the national Congress, I have spoken of them with the same candour and impartiality as of their rivals; I shall now merely add, that no men could have commenced their career with better intentions, and, except in the intolerance and cruelty they have shewn to the followers of Joseph Buonaparte,' is there any of those errors laid to their charge, previous to the proscription of 1814, that will not find absolution with posterity? Possessing the esteem and confidence of the people, they endeavoured to merit both, in an eminent degree, by the manner in which reforms were effected, while the country was still a prey to the horrors of war; and, although this might have been the only sure means of securing popularity with the nation, it is not the less entitled to praise. If, as so many enlightened men have asserted, the people are always ready to recognize their real friends, it is no less true, that they have scarcely ever been guilty of ingratitude towards those who have served them with sincerity. Though unable to manifest it openly, the sympathy of all classes towards the victims of the above memorable persecution was often shewn during their exile and imprisonment; but it knew no bounds on the restoration of freedom, when the first act of the people and the heroes of San Fernando, was to give them back the power and emoluments which had been torn from their hands in 1814. With such a proof of gratitude and sympathy, surely there were obligations contracted on one side as well as on the other; the

Liberales could not have so soon forgotten the maxims they had so uniformly advocated in the Cortes, and perpetuated in the Charter, that the people are the source of all power, and that, therefore, those who happen to be entrusted with it are merely their servants. Impressed with this important and undeniable truth, what was the line of policy and conduct dictated by those who were thus honored? Were they not bound to pay the most scrupulous attention and deference to that public opinion to which they were exclusively indebted for their release from bondage and elevation to power? What sacrifice ought, in fact, to have been too great on the part of men thus situated, rather than forfeit the esteem and confidence of the people? That change in the state of Europe, occasioned by several years of bitter experience and sedulous inquiry in matters of government, must have convinced the Liberales of 1812, that many acts which would have appeared comparatively harmless during the war of independence, when force had necessarily a large share in the executive government, were totally incompatible with popular feeling and popular knowledge in 1820. Was it in checking the generous impulse given to the nation by the patriotic societies, and at length suppressing them altogether, that the Liberales of 1812 thought to requite their debt of gratitude? Could men who dispersed the army of La Isla, without which, they might have been, to this day, shut up in the dungeons of

Ceuta and Melilla, at a time when the measure was fraught with infinite danger, expect to retain their popularity? Was it in the nature of probabilities that the people could approve the conduct of a party which laid restrictions on the press, and almost abrogated the right of petition, when there was scarcely any other means left of saving the ark from destruction? I pass over the acts of violence and injustice done to various individuals, the narrow and short-sighted policy with regard to South America, their conduct to the Afrancesados, certain jobs relative to public loans, with which certain patriots have mixed themselves up in such a way, as never to recover their lost characters; these, and various other minor faults, prove to demonstration, that the men of 1812, who were called to power and place in 1820, not only mistook the change in public opinion, but forgot the duty they owed to themselves, the people, and posterity. What has been the result of this fatal policy?—a civil war! What will be the result of it?—no man can predict! Need I add, what would have been the probable, nay, certain consequences of paying due attention to the state of public opinion, and promoting a system of union amongst all those who were divided by trifling shades in politics, but whose ultimate objects were the same? Such a policy must have given a strength and consistency to the constitutional government, a degree of energy and zeal to the people, that the enemies of liberty would not have dared to raise their heads, though even backed by foreign armies, as they have been supported and spurred on by foreign gold and foreign fanaticism! Had such a policy been adopted, the enemies of freedom and humanity, instead of an impoverished treasury, annihilated commerce and a distracted people, would have found an united nation, and with that, the resources necessary for sustaining the social edifice against all the powers of Europe. Having thus freely canvassed the errors of the late ministry, it remains for me to state the natural and inevitable consequences of their erroneous system. The people of every civilized country may be compared to a rich mine, which only requires working to produce new treasures; neither the Liberales nor the Afrancesados embrace all the talents of Spain; on the contrary, it will be, perhaps, soon perceived that both are likely to be outstripped not only in talent, but energy, as they are already in patriotism. The immediate result of forfeiting the confidence of the people, has been the creation of a new party, hitherto unknown in Spain. I allude to the COMUNEROS; upon whom, as an integral part of themselves, the hopes of the Spanish people are now exclusively centered. When I distinguish the Comuneros as an entirely new party, it arises from the very opposite circumstance, which has given rise to them and the followers of Padilla and Maldonado in the sixteenth century. Though the objects in both epochs may be very similar, yet it should be kept in mind that the first assertors of Spanish liberty lived in an age when feudal institutions and religious fanaticism left no hope of successful resistance to the people; whereas, thanks to the progress of knowledge, circumstances are totally changed in the present day. Although an assimilation of these celebrated parties holds good, to a certain extent, it ought not to be carried too far, lest we should be apt to confound the comparatively trifling interests at stake in one case, with those incalculable results which depend on the other. The Comunidades, who fought under the heroes of Toledo and Villalar, were contending merely for the right to resist the payment of unjust taxes; those of 1820, are struggling for the liberties of Europe as well as those of Spain. It is no longer a contest about imposts, but a struggle between freedom and oppression; a war of principles, in which are involved the dearest interests of mankind, and the fate of countless millions yet unborn!

It is unnecessary for me to point out the immense superiority which this new party is calculated to have over every other; springing directly from the people their interests are inseparable; it is obvious that a party thus constituted, possesses the distinguishing quality of its origin; thus it is, that if the people be eternal, so will the party which they have engendered.[*]

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[*] "*Un tyran peut exister pour un jour, mais le peuple est eternel,*" is amongst the sayings attributed to Robespierre!

Although the germs of the Comuneros might be traced to those secret associations which preceded the insurrection of 1820, they were so blended with the Liberales of 1812, that it required circumstances like those to which I have alluded to make them a distinct class. This party already boasts some of the most distinguished members of the late Cortes, together with all the generals of note and nearly the whole army; to these may be added the commercial classes, and most of those who fill the middling ranks of society. The rapidity with which its numbers are swelling, will soon make it irresistible, if those who undertake to lead are but true to their constituents and to themselves. Having the rocks on which their predecessors split full before them, and being equally convinced of their danger from without, the leaders of the Comuneros can have no excuse for erring; let them, therefore, only be cautious not to clash with public opinion, but follow it as the polar star of modern civilization, and their triumph will be achieved, for it is in the womb of time!

These brief remarks on the party which has superseded and occupied the place of the Liberales, naturally lead me to say a few words on the obstacles which are opposed to the consolidation of liberty in Spain generally: before I advert to them, I cannot avoid observing that the fall of the men of 1812 ought to operate as a standing lesson to the parties of every country. Should any of the latter be placed in a similar situation, and like the

Liberales of 1812, they betray their trust, is it too much to prognosticate that they will share a similar fate?

As it has frequently occurred in the preceding letters, it would require a large space to do justice to the subject, upon which I have time only to offer a few isolated remarks. Were it not that so many concurrent circumstances had combined, of late years, to produce a modification in the state of society, to which it is absurd to place limits, the obstacles that oppose freedom would be sufficient to appal the most daring; for they are to be found abundantly, on which ever side we turn, if the events of the world were not so powerful, that they must command, instead of obeying. The obstacles to be found in religion, habits, manners, government and institutions of every kind, are such, that no man would dream of aspiring to the dignity of freedom. Happily, there is a fact connected with the history of the present day, which distinguishes it from all others; instead of mankind being governed by events, which they had hitherto been, when in the power of despotism, princes, ministers, and public bodies, must henceforth obey the impulse given by opinion. It is for want of recognizing this simple truth, and in violating the law it imposes, that the organs of power continue to be at issue with, if they are not regarded as, the enemies of those over whom they are appointed to exercise authority. The truth, or fallacy of this doctrine, will be more clearly seen by shortly applying it to the state of Spain.

It will hardly be denied, even by the most slavish advocates of divine right and passive obedience, that a change became indispensable in consequence of the disorganized and impoverished state of the Peninsula in 1820. Seeing that those who had destroyed the Constitution in 1814, and seized the reins of government, had reduced the nation to such a lamentable condition, breaking all their promises and establishing an universal proscription, there was no alternative left but that which was resorted to by the army of La Isla; yet, scarcely had the wishes of the people been acceded to by their sovereign, than his servants organized a massacre at Cadiz; since which, scarcely a week has passed without the discovery of some plot to restore things to the state in which they were in 1819. Not content with lighting up the torch of civil war at home, the abettors of evil have coalesced with the enemies of freedom without, and are known to be making the most strenuous efforts at every court in Europe, to muster a crusade against the Peninsula, and re-establish the ancient despotism. After all that has been already said of the aristocracy and priesthood, it is quite unnecessary to point out who are the authors of these manifold treasons; however natural it may be for little minds to feel desirous of preserving privileges which had given them the means of tyrannizing over their fellow-creatures, I should imagine that it would have been impossible to devise a more effectual mode of destroying every trace of christianity, than by its ministers placing themselves at the head of armed bands, which they had previously organized for the avowed purpose of pillage and assassination. If this conduct of the Spanish priesthood does not produce an effect, hitherto unknown, since the foundation of the christian system, it will be one of the greatest miracles connected with the religion of Christ.

In noticing the zeal and perseverance with which the priesthood have opposed the constitutional system in Spain, conceiving no excess a crime by which their object could be attained, and, as in every former instance, making the name of the Divinity the pretext for their conduct, I do not deny but that some of the measures of Cortes, relative to the clergy, may be taxed with precipitation. Those, however, who assert that the tythes could have been continued at their original rate, and the church property left untouched, amidst the appeals which poured in from every side, urging the necessity of an immediate determination on these two important points, are, I think, deficient in candour or lamentably ignorant of facts. If it be admitted that the reduction of tythes, appropriation of church property, and suppression of convents, might have been more gradual, it is, on the other hand, but justice to admit, that there is not a single individual of the priesthood, or monkish orders, who can say he has been left unprovided with the means of subsistence. Had the Cortes suffered their first session to close without passing the laws relative to tythes, convents and noviciates, what would their constituents have said?—since these were amongst the chief sources of national misery and discontent which rendered the late system intolerable.*

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* Of the two or three hundred pamphlets that have appeared since the re-establishment of liberty, several are devoted to an exposure of those abuses in all the departments of religion, law and government, which existed under the late system: many of these deserve a more minute analysis than I have room to offer at present.

Bernabeu, the clerical reformer, and a member of the late Cortes, has published a valuable essay on the origin of tythes and church property, entitled "*España venturosa;*" in which the various methods adopted by the early sovereigns and priesthood of Spain, to acquire riches, as well as the scandalous use made of them in after times, are freely canvassed. It is impossible to read the statements of this writer, drawn, as they are, from authentic historical documents, without being filled with astonishment and horror; to think that religion, and, above all, such meek and unassuming doctrines as those of Christ, should have been made the vehicle and pretext for so much deceit, injustice and hypocrisy.

The object of Bernabeu was to shew that a great portion of the riches of the Spanish clergy is derived from the violence and imposture exercised in former days; and that, as they were conferred for the support of the poor, the nation had a right to reclaim this property, and diminish the tythes, whenever it thought proper. This important fact, and that the clergy are merely the depositaries of the property ceded to them, has been proved to demonstration in the pages of "*España venturosa.*"

While the Letters of "*El pobrecito Holgazan*" contain an ironical critique on the old system, both of religion, politics and morals the "Letters of *Don Justo Balanza*" treat them as political questions, and are amongst the most valuable proofs of sound reason-

Regarding the clergy as a body of selfish individuals, whose only ambition is to live on the industry of others, retaining wealth, to which their

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ing which have proceeded from the constitutional press. The first letter is intended to shew the necessity of affording the Afrancesados an opportunity of justifying themselves before the competent tribunals, and if innocent, of restoring them to the full enjoyment of their political rights. In comparing them with the Liberales, the author asks, whether all those who assume that title are themselves perfect and free from error? In his second letter, Miñano speaks of the restoration of the holy office, as the desperate effort of a faction, which contained the germs of its own destruction; its tendency being not to support the edifice of despotism but to accelerate its fall. He supposes, however, that a little more prudence would have enabled the faction to rule much longer. The Council of Castile is next described: this tribunal, established by Charles V., seems to have been in politics what the Inquisition was in religion: vile slaves to ministers, when the latter were in favour, they waited only for their becoming unpopular to turn against them. Though pretending to be a representative body, they were merely the shield of a despotic court. Directors of the public education, they consolidated and systematized bad taste in the universities. There is scarcely a vice in morals or government, that Miñano does not attribute to the Council of Castile; which must have been, according to his account, infinitely worse than the Star Chamber of our own country. Like the sacred tribunal, its grand object was to prevent the correction of public abuses, and never omitting any opportunity of increasing them in every branch of science, arts and government. So much does the author dread the return of this tribunal, that if he had to choose between it and the Inquisition, he would prefer the latter!

The third and fourth letters of Don Justo relate to tythes, and the secularization of church property; both are full of interesting matter. It appears from positive data, furnished in the immediate title is more than equivocal, and preserving privileges that are contrary to reason and common sense; nothing is more natural than the opposition

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vicinity of Madrid, that a farmer, whose expences in cultivating a farm would be 28,953 reals, and where the produce of the harvest amounted, on an average, to 33,411 reals, gains only 4458; out of which the tythes amount to 3080, leaving a balance of 1378 reals, as the fruit of his labour and that of four mules! The author further proves that 70 per cent. was the average paid by the farmers throughout Spain to the priesthood, though there were places where it did not amount to more than 40 and 50 per cent. It is to this monstrous burden, that Miñano attributes the ruin of agriculture, and consequent poverty of the people; he adds, that the abolition of the tythes would be received in Spain with as much joy by the people, as when they first heard of the expulsion of the Jesuits in the reign of Charles III.

A paragraph, relative to the general hospital of Madrid, represents the expense of management to be from 10 to 50 per cent of the whole revenue.

The author's observations on the interminable abuses in religion, particularly those relative to priests, monks and nuns, on the vow of celibacy, and the necessity of recalling those victims of false zeal, but more often, domestic tyranny, back to the bosom of society, are extremely interesting. Miñano's reasonings on the necessity of clerical reform, are, at once, so eloquent and and conclusive, that no body of legislators, really interested for the welfare of Spain, would avoid profiting by such unanswerable arguments.

Some very valuable information, respecting the abuses in religion, has been published by an anonymous writer, under the signature of *Canta-Claro;* proving that the existence of the religious corporations was incompatible with true religion. Independently of his statement relative to the origin of the monkish orders, and their total inutility, *Canta-Claro* says that the Domithey have shown, and continue to manifest, against the new order of things. That men, actuated by such motives, should avail themselves of religion,

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nicans, Capuchins and Franciscans, appointed to preach to the people, are those who do it least; it is, therefore, necessary to pay curates for performing this duty, while the former lead a life of mendicity or idleness. The poor labourer, or industrious artisan, after having paid his tythes, is also obliged to support the missionaries, besides the oil, wheat, eggs, fowls, &c. furnished to the neighbouring convents. The effect of this abuse, according to *Canta-Claro*, is, to pamper the friars, and enable the curates to lead a life of debauchery. It frequently happens, that a convent, containing upwards of thirty friars, is situated near several villages, in which there is not a single curate; yet none of the brotherhood can be found to perform mass on holidays: the village is either too far off, or the donations have not been liberal!

This writer dwells with peculiar emphasis, on the danger of confiding education to the monks or jesuits; he complains of the continued changes of masters in the parochial schools, and that the latter are often shut up for six months together; nor is there any regular plan for teaching. Children intended for the church are dressed up in the clerical habit at the age of ten and twelve and are ordained at fourteen and sixteen, ignorant of the sacrifice they make, and the impossibility of fulfilling the obligations they contract. The natural and inevitable effects of this system, says the writer, is that which we see daily: when they grow up and perceive the abyss into which they had been led, the religious profession ceases to be a paradise, as they had imagined; the effect of this moment of disentanglement from the dream of early life, is often such as to drive the victim into the excesses of irreligion as well as immorality. The facility with which bishops ordain, is justly censured; but, were it not for the number of ordinations, and make a watch-word of the Divinity, for purposes that involve every crime, is surely a sacrilege of the most palpable description; so long as they persevere in this unhallowed path, let them not

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the papal see would be deprived of a very profitable source of revenue!

It would appear, from other publications, that the number of monks of all colours and denominations, barefooted and bareheaded, with their attendants, at the period of Spain's recent liberation, was little less than 90,000; while the secular clergy, including the various dignitaries and attendants, exceeded 80,000; (this number is independent of 5000 nuns.) According to an estimate by Cabarrus, presented to Joseph Bonaparte in 1809, the clergy possessed a fourth of the whole capital of the kingdom, while their annual revenue amounted to 750,000,000 of reals; that is to say, as much as it costs to support the army and navy, diplomatic agents, administration of justice, and collection of the revenue! But there were various, and very considerable benefits arising from donations, legacies, and what the mendicant orders collect, which are not included in the above sum. The effect of celibacy on the population may be conceived, when it is added, that above one hundred and twenty thousand individuals of both sexes, are at this moment interdicted from marriage; and, as observed by an ingenious writer on this important subject, the fact of none being received into holy orders, who have any physical defect, tends greatly to aggravate the injury. Although it is scarcely possible to calculate with exactness the loss sustained by population, from the celibacy of the Spanish hierarchy, the attempt has been made. It results from this, that had the unnatural vow ceased in 1500, Spain would have boasted an addition to her present population of 2,300,000! The same writer, who has furnished the above data, after observing that the Peninsula does not contain more than a third of the number of imagine that any but the poor and wretched beings, whom their doctrines have brutalized, will

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inhabitants which the richness of its soil would be equal to support; and that those who labour do not produce a sufficiency of grain, as 625,000 sacks of corn are imported annually; states that the productive classes bear a proportion of only one to four of the whole population; so that 4,000 individuals live by the labour and fatigue of 1000!

A volume might be filled with a history of the senorial rights and privileges, all originating in periods of ignorance and tyranny, and which, from being discretionary on the part of the vassals, in time were converted into permanent claims and *vested interests*. According to these monstrous immunities, the beasts of the field were not more effectually the property of the Spanish lords than were their vassals. The infamous right of cuissage, exacted in France, until the sixteenth century, was not completely abolished in Spain till 1812; as a small town, called Verdu, in Catalonia, paid a yearly fine to be exempted from this despotic usage. The above right, and many others, equally derogatory to justice, were acknowledged to have been exacted by the nobles in a decree of Charles III. published in 1786.

The system of plunder to which Spain has been exposed from the Court of Rome, fully accounts for the efforts made to oppose the Constitution in that quarter. What with the price paid for bulls, dispensations, plenary indulgences, fines on taking orders, pensions, &c. there is no possibility of calculating the real sum drawn from the people by this crying abuse. To give a distant idea of its extent, I need only mention that one of the pensions paid annually from the fund called *La Santissima Cruzada*, for supporting the establishment of the Vatican, amounted to no less a sum than fifteen thousand Spanish dollars! Various other sums, not much inferior to this, were also paid from the same source, though the money thus extracted from poor Spain was levied on the most indigent classes of the people.

be led away by such blasphemy: nay, care should be taken to proclaim, with Melchor de Macanaz, that those who pursue such a course are atheists both in principle and practice.*

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* The means employed to set the Peninsula in a blaze are so notorious, as not to require any additional data in this place. Having said that there are thousands who would gladly see the holy office and all its gorgon terrors restored this assertion cannot be better proved, than in transcribing one of the innumerable proclamations with which Spain has been inundated, during the last six months; indeed, I might say two years: for the emissaries of fanaticism began while the political code was yet only proclaimed generally, without being confirmed by the oath of fidelity.

The following address was circulated through Catalonia, in the early part of May, by a monk of La Trappe, named Antonio Marañon, whose biography is shortly as follows:—Having been appointed a lieutenant of the regiment of Murcia, in 1817, he was entrusted with a sum of money which belonged to the battalion, and having lost it at play, deserted to avoid the consequences. Becoming a *Trappiste* soon after, he appeared to conform to all the outward austerities of the brotherhood, till its suppression by the late Cortes. Our hero then sought an asylum north of the Pyrenees; his reception there was not less cordial than that of all the bigots and knaves who had preceded him. When a plan of future operations was settled, Brother Antonio set out, supplied with the principal *matériel* of war—gold,—and crossing the frontier near Jaca, was seen to enter Reus in April, having two mules, well laden, in his suite. Nothing more was heard of the reverend father, until his proclamation was seized, and himself put to flight, together with his deluded followers, about two hundred peasants, by a small party of national militia. This took place at the end of June.

That the Grandees and their followers, including a large portion of the legal and military professions, who have been bred up in a belief that

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"Proclamation.

"Soldiers and Children in Jesus Christ!

"By the aid of the Lord, you have just gained a degree of glory equal to that which your ancestors and forefathers acquired over the impious Moors, in favour of our holy religion. The bells of the temple of the Lord have called forth your valour and love for the triumph of the faith. Ye have taken up arms, and God will protect your salutary intentions. Ye have begun these glorious feats for exterminating the troops of the line, militia, and Constitutionalists; continue, therefore, in your firm will and resolution, and you are more than a match for these perverse wretches; or rather, you will imitate your fathers, who elevated the cross on the Spanish soil, which you worthily occupy, in signs of the total destruction of the Moorish race. A new sect, still worse, is doing its utmost to conquer, on the ruins of the sacred temples, which you see either shut up or annihilated daily. If you wish to be pure, and to conquer the road to Heaven, follow my example, which will shew you that of victory; and the standard of the crucifix, that I bear in your front, shall be the fundamental base and unerring guide of all your actions.

"The Lord is pleased with sacrifices; being, as you are, Christians, and I being at your head, I depend upon you, in order to gain the end so much desired. Mariñon directs you to fresh victories, like that which you have just gained; and our enemies, as well as those of religion, the spouse of Jesus Christ, will be saved only through our generous exertions. Let us, therefore, swear and declare before the Heavens, and in the presence of the image of the Lord, not to lay down our arms before they are exterminated; I mean the *philosophers*, troops of the line, and militia. Unanimously, and with one accord, let us cry, Long the people were destined to be little better than the beasts of the field, should have joined the clergy, is not a matter of the smallest wonder; nor is there any doubt, but that they would have made some efforts to resist the system, even without the instigations of the hierarchy. I will, however, venture to assert, that had the clergy not organized the peasantry, and appeared at their head, neither the civil aristocracy, nor the few military men who have dishonoured themselves by joining the seditious bands, would ever have taken an active part in promoting rebellion. Were it not for the use made of their power by the classes I have noticed, it is easy to conceive what an effect their united labours must have produced; but, like a giant exhausted by excesses, the inefficacy of their efforts will tend only to make weakness and decrepitude more apparent, while the necessity of virtue, and the desire of amelioration on the part of the people, must insure a certain and lasting victory. In taking my leave of the

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live our Redeemer! long live our absolute King! and for the safety of these, blood and flames to every Constitutionalist!

"LONG LIVE THE FAITH!"

It will be seen, by the confident tenor of this address, that it must have been written for a different result: Brother Antonio had, in fact, reckoned without his host! Such, however, are the emissaries employed, and such the doctrine preached, by the anti-social faction of Europe.

priesthood, nobility, and other privileged orders of Spain, who are so strenuously labouring to re-establish civil and religious tyranny, I would fain say a few words, by way of proving that they are running, with hasty strides, to an abyss which is ready to receive them: experience has, however, so often proved the inutility of exhortation, that I am not weak enough to imagine any reasons I could adduce will produce the least effect, where those of Christ and his Apostles, not to mention the fathers of the primitive church, have failed.

I shall premise the observations I have to offer, relative to Ferdinand VII. and his family, by what will be regarded as an absurd paradox, by many with whom nothing can be further from my wishes than to differ in opinion. If it be a truth, borne out by the experience of ages, that man is the creature of circumstances and education, where is the justice of condemning those who, born in the midst of crime, are brought up under the tuition of persons, whose duty it is to instil false notions; men who are, in reality and fact, no more free agents than the criminal loaded with chains and waiting the hour of execution?—If the following particulars respecting His Catholic Majesty be true, I maintain it, that history will exonerate him from the charges which now weigh so heavily on the head of that unfortunate monarch. Coming in contact, as this biographical sketch does, with so many assertions of an opposite nature, thrown out, either as general hints or open charges, it will require something more tangible before I am convinced that my informant has deceived me:

Having, during my stay at Madrid, collected all the information in my power, regarding the mode of life and general conduct of the Royal family (for it is amongst the melancholy privileges of royalty, to be the object of legitimate inquiry with the lowest subjects), I found it totally impossible to reconcile the stories circulated with actual observation; and often, when individuals, on whose judgment and impartiality I was bound to depend, made certain assertions, I could not help asking, whether it was possible, that the private life of a man could be so irreproachable, while his public acts are represented as more atrocious than any laid to the charge of Nero himself? I have often exclaimed, surely, it is not in nature for hypocrisy to be carried so far! More deeply impressed with the striking opposition between actual observation and public rumours, I determined to obtain such data as should, at least, convince me the contrast was complete in all its parts. The statement I am about to offer is contained in a letter, transmitted to me from Madrid, by a person thoroughly acquainted with every particular of the King's life, though entirely unconnected with the palace.

After some observations on the persecuting spirit assumed by the Liberales of 1812, who formed the first constitutional ministry, and their conduct with regard to the army of La Isla, my correspondent thus proceeds:—"I shall now pass to the promised details: they will not be very numerous, as the personage in question has never been any thing more than a passive instrument in the hands of others. Born with a weak and sickly constitution, his infancy was passed in a series of maladies: many of his preceptors were men of merit; you know that Escoiquiz was his guide in ethics, moral philosophy, and history, while father Scio, the author of an excellent translation of the Bible, and a man of great learning, superintended his religious and biblical studies; he received lessons in military tactics from Colonel Maturana, an officer of artillery, and a highly meritorious character. Scarcely had he surmounted the dangers of infancy, than he began to experience the hatred vowed to him at an early period by his mother! This hatred was inspired by the Prince of Peace, who saw an insurmountable obstacle to his ambition in the heir apparent. Although his youth was passed amidst the tribulations of an implacable persecution, Ferdinand was never observed to betray the most trifling anger or resentment against his parents; he was, for several years, deprived of all communication and correspondence, except with the few imbecile courtiers who were placed to watch his person: it is a well known fact, that all those to whom he showed any particular mark of kindness were marked out and given up to persecution. He was married in 1804, to Maria Antonia de Bourbon, an Infanta of Naples: this princess was highly accomplished, possessing an elevated mind, and great independence of character. She soon opened the eyes of her husband to the scandalous proceedings of the Court. The destruction of this amiable woman was soon decided: after a most difficult labour, and long sickness, during which they were so barbarous as to separate her from her husband, she fell a victim to a violent remedy in 1806. An apothecary of the Court shot himself some months after, leaving a written paper, in which he declared the part he had taken in the death of the princess. From that time till the famous affair of the Escurial, his life presents no event of importance. Stimulated by his own feeling, and urged on by some individuals of the Court, in 1807, the prince determined to throw himself at the feet of Charles IV. and represent the hatred of the whole people against Godoy, the disorders of the finances, and all those other evils which oppressed the nation. The paper composed by him on this occasion, and written in his own hand, was a masterpiece of reasoning, filial tenderness, eloquence and patriotism. This document is unfortunately lost. Ferdinand entreated his father to drive from his palace the man who dishonoured him; also, that he should immediately assemble the Cortes, and, though late, listen to the voice of the people. Escoiquiz and the Duke del Infantado were the principal actors in this business: they calculated on the support of France, which had been promised by Count

Beauharnois, the ambassador of Napoleon. The project being discovered, it was frustrated, and a petition on the subject, drawn up by Escoiquiz, and written by his pupil, was found in the lining of the latter's coat. Nothing could exceed the rigorous treatment of the prince, on this discovery: Escoiquiz was sent to a convent, and Infantado exiled; while the servants who happened to be concerned in keeping up the communication were condemned to the gallies. It is from this moment you may date the species of idolatry which the people paid to the Prince of Asturias: hence, too, arose the events at Aranjuez, where the people rose, and seized the Prince of Peace, who must have infallibly perished, had it not been for the timely intercession of Ferdinand. Nothing could exceed the joy of the nation on hearing that the King had abdicated in favour of his son. The short reign of Ferdinand was marked by various acts of justice and magnanimity: one of his first measures was, to recall from exile the ministers disgraced by Godoy; more especially Jovellanos, Azara, O'Farril, and others. An unaccountable fatality seemed to take possession of Ferdinand and his advisers soon after;—the journey to Vittoria was decided on; you know the rest.

"Ferdinand's stay at Valençay is a remarkable period of his life: firmly believing that he could never return to power, he resigned himself to this thought with the fortitude of a stoic; applying himself to literature, he found a superb library, and filled up a portion of his leisure in translating several Spanish works into French. His benevolence knew no bounds, and his departure is still regretted by the whole department, and will long be lamented by the poor and indigent. A person, or rather a monster, named Ameraga, nephew of Escoiquiz, having joined the train of Ferdinand, when he was passing through Biscay, on his way to Bayonne, accompanied him to that place, and contrived to introduce himself into the Court of Napoleon: being appointed superintendant of the household at Valençay, some months after, and chief keeper of the Prince, he acquitted himself of the charge like a true tyrant, treating the young king with so much insult and cruelty, that the latter was forced to represent his conduct to Napoleon; upon which an immediate order was sent, directing Ameraga to quit the palace instantly. Throwing himself at the feet of Ferdinand, and soliciting forgiveness, the Prince, moved by his tears, made him a present of a valuable estate on the banks of the Loire.

"Several writers have reproached Ferdinand with his blind partiality to Napoleon, and entire submission to his orders, as well as the cession made of all his rights, into the hands of the conqueror. If you ever publish this, compare the conduct of Ferdinand with that of Alexander at Tilsit, and of Francis at Schoenbrunn: do not fail to represent the fact of his having passed the whole of his life in a state of abject slavery, without ever being allowed the smallest interference in political affairs. I cannot add any thing more to your stock of information, as to the public history of Ferdinand. Perhaps you would like to hear one or two anecdotes relative to his private life.

"On his return from France, and while proceeding from the frontiers to Zaragoza, he read the Constitution, with San Carlos, and the famous General Palafox. Ferdinand expressed the highest opinion of the new code, and even traced its analogy to the ancient laws of the monarchy. Whenever either of his companions made a remark on its extreme liberality, he proved by quotations from various historians, that such had been the genuine spirit of our early institutions. It was at a village between Zaragoza and Valencia, that a deputation of Bishops inspired him with his first scruples against the code: this is an important fact, but little known, even here. Notwithstanding the persuasions of those pious fathers, Ferdinand hesitated a long time, nor was it till some days after his arrival at Valencia, that he would sign the fatal decree. If the nations of Europe knew the threats and subterfuges of every kind, put in practice there, they would acquit Ferdinand with one accord. I have frequently told you that foreign influence had a very large share in destroying our liberties: I need not remind you, that your own ambassador was amongst the first visitors; and there are those who do not hesitate to say, that a distinguished military chief gave his voice in favour of the proposed measure. Without vouching for the truth of this statement, you are aware that a British general headed the cavalry which escorted the King into the capital: some persons go so far as to say, that this officer told those who suggested fears for the result, that he would answer for the conquest of Madrid, and securing the Cortes. This is also a report, of which I do not pretend to affirm the authenticity.

"With respect to the personal qualities of Ferdinand, I am bound to say he is the best of sons and husbands. I have already observed that he never was known to pronounce a disrespectful word against his parents: you know the story of the picture, for I had it from yourself.* He carried on a regular correspondence with the late King for many years before his death. Ferdinand is adored by his domestics: I have seen him enter the room of a sick servant, and present the

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* I have already had occasion to allude to the personal charms of the young Queen, who, like most Saxon beauties, has light-coloured hair, and a remarkably fair complexion: forming a striking and agreeable contrast with her sisters-in-law, Donna Carlota and Donna Francisca, both distinguished for those jetty locks, large dark eyes, and plump forms, which mark the fascinating brunettes of Spain and Portugal. The greatest harmony is said to prevail amongst all the members of the Spanish Royal Family; their dining, and generally appearing in public together, is the best proof I can offer of this assertion: it is also an example which ought to put some other families to the blush. Although there is nothing in Ferdinand's exterior that would be likely to captivate the female mind, and that Her Catholic Majesty is nearly twenty years younger than her husband, (Ferdinand was born in 1784) yet is there every reason to believe she is warmly attached to the King; and that this results from his unexceptionable conduct, as a married man; never omitting

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those little attentions, that though trifling in themselves, are a sure title to affection with women. A personal attendant of Her Majesty, has informed me, that Ferdinand passed a great part of the day with his wife, and was remarkably attentive to her wishes, or the most trivial points. The story of the picture is simply as follows:—His Majesty having expressed a wish that Madrazo should prepare a small cabinet picture for his study, in which the Queen was to be represented as Hebe, the painter immediately began his task, and when completed, waited on Ferdinand to show his work. The King was highly delighted with the likeness and colouring, but it had a fault: adhering somewhat too closely to the description given by the poets, and anxious to preserve the form through the drapery, the latter was not quite so substantial as to coincide with Ferdinand's notions on the subject of female costume: this did not however prevent him from complimenting the artist, to whom he merely hinted, that he thought a few more folds might be added without doing any injury to the general effect. Madrazo took the hint, and it was on the very day I happened to visit his study, that Hebe had been brought home, to assume a somewhat denser garb. In the course of our interview, he spoke highly of the King's knowledge of the fine arts, and of the uniform encouragement which he gave them.

In noticing the qualities of Ferdinand, I regret not to be able to extend the same praises to his brother, Don Carlos, who is exceedingly unpopular, arising in a great measure from his intimacy and too ready compliance with the suggestions of priests and bigots. Nothing but the strangest fatality can induce this Prince to follow a course so diametrically opposed to his real medicines himself, showing him as much attention as if he had been a brother. A person whom you know, being once closetted with him, refused to give some explanation demanded by His Majesty; upon which, the latter observed, you are not addressing your King, but a Spanish gentleman! Ferdinand has committed many faults; but there is not one of them that was not the effect of his inexperience, and of the ignorance in which he has been kept: he was surrounded in such a manner, that it was totally impossible for the truth to approach: when left to himself, he sought the goddess, with the most impatient avidity. A person said, one day, "your Majesty has ordered me to read this paper; it contains very serious accusations against some one, who enjoys your whole confidence."—"No matter," replied the King, "read on." After hearing the document read, with the greatest attention and composure, he took it from the secretary, without saying a word

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interest, and I am sure it would be impossible for his best friend, to render Don Carlos a greater service, than to remind him that the royal heirs apparent of the present day, who disregard public opinion, are incurring risks which I dread to name.

Don Francisco de Paula forms a striking, and most agreeable contrast to his brother: his popularity with all parties is the best panegyric of this prince, who is, in fact, looked up to by the constitutional party. If kings and princes could know how easy it is to be popular, and consider what a very moderate share of virtue satisfies their subjects, surely they would be greater favourites throughout Europe!

more, looked over the paper again, and then put it into his pocket: in a few days after the accused person got leave to retire from the court! When Porlier's unfortunate affair took place, one of Ferdinand's servants fell at the feet of his master, and said, "Sire, I also am guilty, but your Majesty is generous; I, therefore, implore my pardon, I am an accomplice of the general." The King asked, whether any other person knew of his crime, and being answered in the negative, ordered the culprit to maintain a profound silence on the subject; adding, be cautious that none besides myself becomes the confidant of your weakness. The servant not only retained his place, but was raised to another of still greater importance.

"You wish to be informed of the mode of life which Ferdinand leads at present; the following details are from one who lives in the palace. He rises at six, and devotes a part of the morning to religious duties. After breakfast, which is taken in company with the Queen, and during which he converses familiarly with his medical adviser, the captain of the guard, or some of the attendants, he gives up an hour to the regulation of domestic concerns, and general affairs of the household: this duty performed, he takes an airing in his berline, attended by a single person, without any escort whatever; while absent from the palace, Ferdinand generally visits some public establishment, or calls at one of his country houses. It sometimes happens that this part of the day is given up to receiving foreign ambassadors, grandees, or other visits. He dines at four, without the least etiquette, and all the members of the Royal Family meet at dinner; during which, the King jokes with his brother's wife, or sisters-in-law, not unfrequently addressing some jocular remark to the servants who are in attendance. After dinner, he retires, smokes a segar, gives his orders to the valet-de-chambre, and then enters the state carriage, with the Queen, when the whole family go out in the usual order. After the evening's airing, public audience is given: this has never been omitted for a single day. Every class of persons are admitted at this hour; I have even seen beggars there! Ferdinand listens to each with the greatest patience, and as soon as the hall is empty, passes into his closet, with a secretary, to decide on the petitions presented, or requests that may have been made. Not a day passes, without *despacho*, (transacting public business). He is often engaged with two ministers at a time. The remainder of the evening is passed in reading, music, or in the society of his family."

Madrid, November 22, 1820.

If the above portrait bears any resemblance to the original, and I have no reason whatever to doubt that it does, for even those who are least inclined to favour the Spanish monarch speak of him only in general terms; there is no man in his dominions so worthy of commiseration. But I have a much more important object in view, than gratifying the curiosity of the moment. I will put it to the common sense of mankind, whether any situation can be at once so deplorable, or unnatural, as that of men, who might be the greatest ornaments of society, converted into monsters by priests and courtiers? I will appeal to the most superficial reasoner, whether, if there had been a spark of humanity or virtue in those who have surrounded the King of Spain, his subjects would have suffered a hundredth part of what they have experienced; much less be taught to reproach him with being the author of their misfortunes? Supposing that only a part of the foregoing statements be correct, what a melancholy notion does this struggle between virtue and vice, to which princes are exposed, convey of royalty? Were it possible to ascertain that many of those sovereigns who have been handed down to present times, with opprobrium and infamy, possessed but half the good qualities of Ferdinand VII., what should we say of their ministers and advisers? Surely the miseries ascribed to kings, by our immortal bard, must have been depicted from his having penetrated more deeply into the recesses of courts, than the readers of his various and profound allusions to the proverbial and hereditary evils of royalty have generally imagined?*

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* A French writer, with whom I have sometimes conversed relative to the erroneous opinions formed of princes, has fre-

If I even possessed powers sufficient for such a task, I would not now stop to examine this sub-

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quently begged me to name any sovereign of feudal times, who was not in a state of constant hostility with the nobles and priesthood, if he attempted to oppose their projects against himself or the people; adding, that where intrigue or intimidation had not the desired effect, the hatchet or poignard were employed. After alluding to the personal qualities of Richard II., Henry IV., Charles I., Gustavus of Sweden and Louis XVI. my friend has said, "When it ceases to be the fashion to abuse kings for the crimes of their ministers and courtiers, there will not be so much difficulty as at present, in estimating their real characters."

It was not till after a residence of some time on the continent, that I recognized many mistakes into which I had been led with respect to Napoleon. Now that this extraordinary man has paid the debt of nature, I cannot help thinking that every year will increase the disposition, already so apparent, to exonerate his memory from many of those charges, heaped on him while living. I have noticed the change that has taken place on the subject in Spain, the last place in which such a revolution of opinion could be expected.

A Spanish writer of eminence, and who is a distinguished ornament of the liberal party, says, "That it is the height of injustice to condemn many acts of Napoleon's life, which arose more from the peculiarity of his position, and the necessity of pursuing a particular system of government, than any other motive." The same person maintains, "that it was utterly impossible for a sovereign to become so popular, and to govern as he did for above fourteen years, without doing so more or less in the spirit of the governed." Of this [illegible], it is impossible for any person to form an adequate [illegible], who has not resided on the continent, and studied the national character as well as the state of parties in France.

ject in its important and multifarious bearings: it opens a field of meditation and inquiry, worthy of the most philosophic mind. I trust that the extraordinary anomaly between private life and public character, which I have brought to light, will attract the attention it deserves. Public sympathy has been often bestowed on the youth of both sexes, who are inveigled into a profession, which leads to their separation from the tenderest ties of society, leaving life a melancholy blank, to which death would be a thousand times preferable. Yet, is there some compensation even for these forlorn classes of the community: an imaginary picture of worldly happiness is substituted for the real blessings of life. But, what comparison is there between the sufferings of individuals, thus estranged from the social tie, and a prince, who, possessing the means and inclination to confer happiness on millions, is made a scourge for them, by the base arts and depraved passions of those who surround his person? If so much pains have been taken to restore the religious orders to society, how much more important is it, to make princes feel that they are men, and have contracted the same obligations as the rest of their fellow-creatures?

I have, in some of the preceding letters, attempted to show, that the christianity of monks and priests, such as those who established the Inquisition, is not the christianity of Christ: will any man lay his hand on his heart, and say that Royalty was originally designed to be a curse to him who rules, and to those who obey? If ministers, priests and courtiers, have hitherto done their utmost to convert princes into a degraded cast, heaping on it crimes of their own invention and perpetration, let us hope that the time has at length arrived, when the public opinion of an enlightened age, will scout such monstrous anomalies, and prevent their recurrence.

If the observations which I have felt myself bound to make on the above momentous subject, have led me somewhat out of the immediate object in view, they will, at least, prevent the necessity of such other details as might have been necessary to account for the apparent disposition of the monarch to favour the designs of the servile faction: it has, till now, been the misfortune of Ferdinand's life, to be surrounded by men, who have laboured only to conceal the truth, for the double purpose of betraying their master, and of oppressing his subjects. Whenever their places shall be occupied by men of honour and virtue, what may not be expected from a prince, whose private life exhibits so many virtues as those described by my Madrid friend?*

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* If it were possible to see only a part of the contrivances put in practice, to prevent Ferdinand from adhering to the Constitution, I am inclined to believe his most decided enemies would absolve him from blame. Considering the manner in which this prince has been brought up, and the strong religious bias he is said to inherit from his early education, who can be surprised at his hesitating to sanction the laws passed relative to the property

In noticing the obstacles which oppose the progress and consolidation of liberty in Spain, perhaps I ought to have concluded at those, which prevent the Sovereign from either knowing the real state of his people, or contributing to their happiness; but there are also others, and these of a most formidable nature. Besides those evils arising from the conflict of parties and interests, the jealousies which have been hitherto found much more powerful than the love of country; and which, while they exist, will prevent rival politicians from ever co-operating for the public.

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of the clergy and reducing their number. I know it to be an undeniable fact, that his refusing to approve a decree for the abolition of certain religious orders during the session of 1820 was owing to a fulminating letter from Rome, in which his Catholic Majesty was threatened with excommunication if he gave his consent to any measures relative to ecclesiastical affairs. Is any person, acquainted with the secret springs of priestcraft, so weak as to suppose, that threats of a much more appalling nature have not been continually made since? The letter addressed to Ferdinand by Solchaga, general of the Capuchins, and for which his Reverence was very properly prosecuted by the Cortes, told his Majesty in the plainest terms, that the law relative to the reduction of their number and property, was a gross sacrilege, inasmuch as that the followers of San Francisco de Assisa had promised and sworn never to abandon the doctrines of their founder, as confirmed by various councils and approved by several popes. For my own part, judging from all I have been able to collect, I cannot persuade myself, even allowing for a degree of hypocrisy inseparable from such an education, that Ferdinand would have rejected the decrees concerning the church, or senorial privileges in a later instance, without the baneful influence I have noticed.

good; I ought to mention the personal ambition, which constantly steps in between the warmest patriots, and their duty to the people: above all, who can pass over that felfish feeling (called egotism by the French and Spaniards), the grand characteristic of our age, which, having first turned the brains of the best and wisest amongst us, giving rise to innumerable *systems* in religion, morals, legislation and politics, descends to senators, lawyers and soldiers, filling some with immense conceptions of their inflated nothingness, and making others fancy they were born to become the arbiters of taste as well as of liberty; an egotism, that, in concentrating every care in self, weakens or destroys those virtues, through the exercise of which, alone, man is superior to the brute creation. Next to the foregoing obstacles, and perhaps above them, may be placed those inequalities of society, and divisions of property, which have destroyed all the beautiful proportions of a well-regulated community, making natural enemies of the rich and poor, and placing both in a state of permanent hatred and hostility. However this wretched picture of modern civilization may clash with the opinions of many, because it is not so apparent to them, as to those who have visited Spain, they need only cross the Pyrenees, to be convinced that I do not exaggerate.

"The last internal obstacle to freedom, which I shall notice, is not less common to other parts of Europe than to Spain. I allude to the corruption of manners produced by errors in religion and government. Although the pure and uninterrupted stream of despotism, which has borne down principle and virtue in other countries, rendering it extremely difficult to find any six men who think alike, though they think so well; and making them, by turns, yield to power, or oppose only a feeble resistance to tyranny, has not poisoned the sources of patriotism and virtue in the Peninsula; yet are there but too many there, who have also neither sufficient constancy, nor adequate resolution to persevere in any grand scheme of public liberty, till the object be attained. Yes! I regret to say, that the same causes which have made mercenary apostates and willing slaves of thousands, in more countries than one north of the Pyrenees, have also exerted a most extensive influence in Spain.*

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* The difficulties thrown in the way of communication, and more especially that violation of all law, in opening letters, attributed to some continental governments, cannot be sufficiently reprobated. But as these disgraceful practices, like espionnage, are amongst the maxims of government invented above a hundred years ago, if not long before in the countries alluded to, it is useless to hope for a change while things continue on their present footing. All than can be done, under such circumstances, is to devise the best means within our reach of communicating with one's friends, without passing through the ordeal of spies and informers. It is not enough, that genius and talent should be taxed in the shape of books, pictures, and other objects of taste, the interchange of amicable sentiments and family secrets, must also

It will be said, that one who sees so little to approve in the moral and political order of society, can have but slender hope in the future: this is not the case; his hopes are of the most sanguine description. Does not the march of knowledge keep pace with, nay, outstrip, that of oppression? Have not the last thirty years exhibited one uniform struggle between law and force; no matter how they have been modified by outward appearances? Finally, has not a very large portion of civilized man adopted the all-important truth, that it is their interest to be virtuous? There are many other sources of hope, all branching out of the former; I shall particularize only one, as having long made a deep impression on my mind.—If the imperfections of ancient civilization opposed an insuperable bar to the perfectibility of the species, those of modern times are recognized, and have accumulated so many evils, that none but the most prejudiced will deny the necessity of the modifications which have commenced, with vio-

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resubject to the sacrilegious eye of the vulgar and profane. The policy of certain governments in this respect, is really calculated to fill the mind with horror as well as disgust. The Cortes of Spain and Portugal could not render a greater service to the people of Europe, than by passing a law, which, in affixing the seal of indelible infamy on espionnage and the opening of private letters confided to the faith of governments, shall lead to the abolition of two practices, utterly useless in themselves, and which strike so effectually at the root of every moral and political virtue.

lence, it is true, but which must diminish in proportion as knowledge becomes more generally disseminated. If men have been brought up with a belief that unnatural privileges and excessive wealth are the grand criterion of happiness, that idleness is preferable to labour, and hereditary honours to those which are gained by our own exertions, what wonder that they should oppose those who wish to remove these popular errors; or, that in doing so, they believe themselves to be obeying the impulses of duty. The whole problem of that resistance which has unhappily thrown Spain into a state bordering on civil war, is fully solved by the foregoing simple position.

As the obstacles which oppose the consolidation of the new system from without, would lead me into a new field of inquiry and crimination, into which I am not disposed to enter at present; and as they operate as much to the detriment of enslaved Italy, and ill-fated Greece, as they do against Spain, I shall devote only a single remark to them. It might well be deemed superfluous, if I attempted to prove the existence of a system, which the parties concerned in take no pains to conceal; or that the Sanitary Cordon ranged along the Pyrenees is not, in fact, an army of observation, assembled for the purpose of taking advantage of circumstances. These are matters of such notoriety, as to require no additional proof I could offer, though I am in possession of many. Much as the friends of justice may regret this flagrant violation of rights, which those committing it have so often invoked themselves, it is, perhaps, rather a subject of congratulation than otherwise, with Spain: the appearance of a foreign armed force on the frontiers has a wonderful tendency to unite a people, between whom there are so many causes of internal division. I need not point out what a spirit the armies of Napoleon roused; it is pre-eminently calculated to excite the sympathy of the rest of Europe; and, above all, it proves that the best mode of insuring the accomplishment of those objects, which are dear to freedom and humanity, is in the extinction of national jealousies, and the indissoluble union of nations.

Although the French Government seems to have taken the alarm more than any other, and that its fear of the political, has been infinitely more than of the physical contagion, the policy pursued at home, by other powers, is a sufficient indication of their disposition with regard to Spain. It will be a long time before England can become popular in the Peninsula: it has been our fate to sink in the estimation of the Spanish, as we have in that of other people. Some of the causes are noticed in the course of my letters; others might be named; but where is the use of multiplying them, when those already pointed out are so conclusive. Our return to the good graces of the Spaniards can be the effect only of a change which would make England the dispenser and protectress of human liberty, instead of its most active and formidable enemy, as she is now regarded throughout the Continent, if not in the New World. Whenever that blessed epoch, for which I am proud to think millions of my countrymen ardently sigh, may arrive, we shall also regain our lost name and influence with the people of Sicily, Greece, and Italy; Ireland will be regenerated, and tranquillity restored to a distracted people at home. If such a consummation, which the wise and good cannot but invoke, be ever realized, it will be a sublime spectacle to see the cradles of ancient and modern liberty become the sanctuaries of reform: not less so, to witness the glorious march of civilization, unopposed by passion or prejudice, moving steadily on to the goal of freedom, prosperity and happiness. Should England much longer neglect the opening she has had, during the last thirty years, it is not, surely, ungenerous to hope, that, as in the case of the Spanish Liberales of 1812, some other nation will arise and supersede her in the abandoned path of glory.

From all I have said relative to the state of parties in Spain, it is evident that the friends of liberty there, have a most arduous task to perform; this task is rendered doubly difficult of execution, owing to the errors and want of judgment displayed by those who undertook the administration of government after the insurrection of La Isla; than which, a more perfect popular movement was never effected in any age or country.

Since it has now fallen to the lot of another class of patriots to complete what their predecessors failed to effect, let us hope that their conduct will be, in every respect, equal to the occasion; if opposed by those who prefer a government of force, to one of opinion, they may, at least, safely calculate on the sympathy of Europe. Should it be found necessary to suspend the national code, and that the liberties of Spain be confided to the civil and military leaders of the Comuneros, they will, I trust be restored more pure and strong than ever. If, on the other hand, they can reach the throne, and proclaim the truth to Ferdinand, he will atone for the past by discarding those who have tarnished his character in the eyes of Europe, and by throwing himself into the arms of his people, he may save royalty from the dangers with which it is threatened, as well as his own memory from the maledictions of posterity![*]

Of all the calumnies circulated in Europe, as well as in Spain, relative to the popular party, that of their wishing to establish a republic, is the most unfounded and atrocious: considering how little the monarchical form of government has done for the Peninsula, there would certainly be nothing so very criminal or extraordinary in wishing to adopt institutions which have effected such progidies in the new world.* But a careful enquiry on the subject, convinces me, that the republicans of Spain are exceedingly limited in number, and altogether without any power of injuring the monarchy. If the system which has been pursued during the last two years be followed up much longer, and the sovereign constantly brought forward as the most inveterate enemy of his people, it would be folly to deny that his crown will be endangered. Those who are acquainted with the principles of the Comuneros, feel satisfied, however, that nothing but the very last extremity of despair, that of self-preservation, would induce them to change the succession, or interfere with the prerogative, as fixed by the political code.

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[*] I have already had occasion to observe, that it is amongst the proudest boasts of Spain, that none of her monarchs ever suffered any personal injury from his subjects.

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* These prodigies are to be found in the sprightly and eloquent volume of Mrs. Wright; whose picture of North American institutions, is, by far, the best that has hitherto appeared. The fair author has rendered a highly important service in shewing her countrymen what the British constitution is, when divested of those abuses, with which the most perfect forms of government must be encumbered, when corruption is not sufficiently opposed. Unlike many of her critics, I cannot disbelieve the flattering picture she has drawn of our transatlantic brethren: on the contrary I should find all my doctrines about the influence of liberty and good laws, blown into "thin air," were I to imagine she had heightened the colouring of her delightful picture. What I regret, is, that the fair author did not also lash the vices, which are inseparable from a people, amongst whom the trading spirit and pride of riches, are not less conspicuous than in Europe. What censure, I will ask, can be too severe on those, who, while they set up an exclusive claim to freedom, yet tolerate slavery, and the sale of human beings? Had I been called upon to offer an opinion upon this part of the North American system, I would not have hesitated to say, that the people who could have thus violated the rights of nature, after their own emancipation from the mother country, deserve to be branded with the appellation of slaves.

This is not the place to dwell on the anti-European spirit.

It is needless for me to add, that if my humble voice could reach the throne of Ferdinand VIII., it would be employed to remind him

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which is known to animate but too many citizens of the infant republic, who must know it is only by reciprocal relations and mutual support, that the prosperity and happiness of the two worlds can ever be established.

It would be an injustice to conclude this note without contrasting the personal conduct of Simon Bolivar and the policy of the Sovereign Congress of Columbia, with that of the North American hero, and the different legislatures of the United States. One of the first acts of the Columbian chief's patriotic career, was to emancipate the slaves on his extensive estates; while the first session of the Congress, assembled at Angostura in 1816, did not close without a solemn pledge given in favour of that emancipation, now happily provided for in a way that does honour to the heads and hearts of the president and his distinguished coadjutors. While I can find no terms of applause too strong, in alluding to the proceedings of the Columbian government, I cannot help expressing my deep regret that the brothers and descendants of Englishmen, should have been left so far behind those of Spain, in magnanimity and generosity. This is the more to be lamented, since it is well known that, if human slavery was not marked with the curse of heaven, and, therefore, inadmissible under any circumstances, it would be infinitely easier to find an excuse for its continuance in Columbia, than in the emancipated colonies of England.

of the glory that awaits him on one side, and the danger which is inevitable on the other: but he cannot be without some advisers when the hour of peril may arrive; and it is sincerely to be hoped, they will prevent him from falling into the abyss so likely to receive those who would, willingly, drag their credulous master down the precipice with themselves.

If parties were ever influenced by advice, I should be tempted to tell the Afrancesados, that to become popular, they must lay their aristocratic notions aside, as incompatible with the spirit of the age, and useless under a constitution like that of Spain: it is only by accommodating themselves to the prevailing opinions of the people, they can ever hope to remove former prejudices; and, lastly, that there are no means so sure of regaining popular favour, than in marching frankly in the ranks of the people.

Next to the man, who having carried his principles beyond the bounds of reason in early life, advocating anarchy, and tries to get on good terms with himself, as well as others, by going into the opposite extreme of *servilism*, is he who loses his popularity; to such a state are the Liberales of 1812 reduced. What advice so friendly,—what counsel so salutary, as to remind these once respectable and talented individuals, that they have still a country! and that if they have a chance of being absolved, it can be found only in a timely recognition of their recent errors. It is also of infinite importance for the men of 1812 to remember, it is only by a scrupulous regard to public opinion, that any man, or set of men can hope to procure or retain popularity in the present day.

I would here gladly give some account of the session of Cortes, which has just closed; I have room only to observe, that the clause of the constitution, which limits the duration of members to two years, though disapproved by some, at first, is now universally hailed as one of the wisest provisions of the code: had the former Congress and ministry remained till now, it is supposed that the measures they had adopted, no matter however well-intentioned, would have, by this time, left the people of Spain as destitute of liberty, as they were when emancipated by the army of La Isla. Never was an appeal to the people more necessary or appropriate; never did a people prove, by their unbiassed choice, how well they knew where the advocates of their rights and liberties were to be found! The Cortes of 1822 have presented the novel spectacle of a Radical Congress:[*] even the breath of calumny, so fertile in its abuse of men and measures in Spain, has not dared to reproach the members of this august assembly with violence, either in their speeches or decrees: yet have they kept the ministry in check, and sustained a triumphant majority, both against the Liberales of 1812, and all

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[*] It may be necessary to explain what is meant by a Radical Congress: an account of those intrigues, through which the Patriots of 1812, contrived to retain the places which they had so badly filled, by framing the present ministry from their own ranks, would require more time and space, than I can now devote to the subject. Notwithstanding the defects natural to men, whose

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acts, particularly their conduct towards Costas, the political chief of Barcelona, and their measures with regard to the conspiracy of Valencia, betray the same want of energy and talent as their predecessors, nearly all their errors have been counteracted by the vigilance and wisdom of the Cortes; in which there has been a majority against the new ministers on almost every question.

It is by comparing the measures of the second, with those of the first Congress, that an estimate can be formed of their respective merits, as reformers: it is also by reflecting on the integrity and talents of the present Cortes, that the advantages of the non-eligibility of re-election are proved to demonstration. Surely the impressive lesson given in this, as in so many other respects, by what is passing in Spain, will not be lost on Europe?

Unable to pay the tribute I intended to those individuals forming the Cortes of 1822, and whose eloquence and talents, as legislators, may well create surprise; since they have been drawn from the obscurity of retirement and neglect, by the people; I can only add, that they are entitled to the thanks and applause of their contemporaries; and that in making the national interests their guide, without suffering the ministers to exercise an undue influence over their proceedings, they have presented a spectacle no less new, than interesting to Europe; thus constituting what I have designated by the title of a *Radical Congress!*

The Session having closed, it is hoped some member of the Cortes will become its historian. The decrees which have marked the last sittings ought to be written in letters of gold, and proclaimed to all Europe.

others, who did not co-operate in favour of the people. 'If the existing disturbances be put down, the merit will be, exclusively, due to the Cortes, whose recent law against the enemies of freedom, and other provident measures, have combined firmness and moderation in an eminent degree.

I cannot close this hasty and imperfect notice of the present prospects of the Spanish people, without congratulating them on their late union with Portugal; the reconciliation of two nations, which had been taught to hate each other as cordially as the people of England and France, is another good omen for the regeneration of the Peninsula; the new allies can be of infinite use to each other. It is also amongst these events, with which the womb of times teems, that nations which had shown most mutual hatred and resentment, will be, when once united in a common cause, more cordial and friendly than any other.

Taking it for granted that Plato, More, Kant, St. Pierre, and Condorcet did not dream, when they represented man as capable of rising in the scale of intellect and morals, so as no longer to resemble what he appeared to them; encouraging a belief, that, though checked for a time, by the obstacles I have stated, and many others, which are needless to name, civilization and liberty are destined to experience an immense advance in the Peninsula; it will, perhaps, be enquired, what are the remedies I would propose, against the evils entailed on society, by the errors of former ages, and which are most likely to accomplish and accelerate the above great ends? My reply to such an interrogatory has been long prepared.—In calling the attention of the Cortes to the state of ignorance and poverty, in which eight millions of their constituents are plunged, by the hands of civil tyranny and religious fanaticism; all, however, beings born with the same rights from God and nature, as themselves; I would say,—if you have the ambition of virtue, endeavour to inspire your fellow-citizens with purer conceptions of the Divinity, and a more rational system of adoration; extend the blessings of education to the humblest portion of the community; and to crown your work, make the representative system, in its fullest and broadest basis, the foundation of law and power!

APPENDIX.

I REGRET, exceedingly, that the space occupied by the preceding details, prevent me from subjoining a variety of private letters, state papers, and proclamations, which would have thrown a great light on the text, as well as on the last twenty years of Spanish history. It is, however, impossible to dispense with the following documents, as they are promised in my letters. A knowledge of the treaties of Fontainebleau, is particularly necessary to those who may be desirous of forming an opinion of the important events to which they give rise. As to the decree for restoring the Holy Office, and extract from the criminal procedure, they will be a guide for posterity, in judging the state of Spain and Europe at the commencement of the nineteenth century; while the sanguinary order of Elio is a fair specimen of the manner in which the complaints of the people were answered during the reign of terror.

No. I.

Diplomatic Treaty of Fontainebleau, between the Emperor Napoleon and King Charles IV. respecting the Kingdom of Portugal, the 27*th of Obtober*, 1807.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and by the Constitutions, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, having seen and examined the Treaty formed and signed at Fontainebleau, the twenty-seventh of October, one thousand eight hundred and seven, by the General of Division, Michael Duroc, Grand Marshal of our Palace, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, &c. by virtue of the full powers which we had confided to him for that purpose, with Don Eugenius Izquierdo de Rivera y Lezaun, Honorary Counsellor of State and of War to H. M. the King of Spain, also authorized by the full powers of his Sovereign; which treaty is as follows:—

H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and H. C. M. the King of Spain, desiring to regulate in unison the interests of the two nations, and fix the future fate of Portugal, so as to reconcile the policy of both countries, have appointed for Ministers plenipotentiary, as follows:—H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, the General of Division, Michael Duroc, Grand Marshal of his Palace, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour; and H. C. M. the King of Spain, Don Eugenius Izquierdo de Rivera y Lezaun, his Honorary Counsellor of State and of War; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:—

Art I. The province of Entre Minho e Douro, including the city of Oporto, shall be given in full property and sovereignty, to H. M. the King of Etruria, with the title of *King of northern Lusitania.*

Art. II. The province of Alemtejo, and the Kingdom of the Algarves, shall be given in full property and sovereignty, to the Prince of Peace, which he shall retain with the title of *Prince of the Algarves.*

Art. III. The provinces of Beira, Tras os Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, shall remain in deposit until a general peace, and shall then be disposed of, according to circumstances, and conformably to what shall be agreed on between the two high contracting parties.

Art. IV. The kingdom of northern Lusitania, shall be possessed by the descendants of H. M. the King of Etruria, hereditarily, and according to the laws of succession which are observed in the reigning family of H. M. the King of Spain.

Art. V. The Principality of the Algarves shall be possessed by the descendants of the Prince of Peace, hereditarily, and according to the laws of succession which are observed in the reigning family of H. M. the King of Spain.

Art. VI. In default of legitimate descendants or heirs of the King of northern Lusitania, or of the Prince of the Algarves, those countries shall be granted by investiture by the King of Spain, provided that they shall never be united under one person, nor to the Crown of Spain.

Art. VII. The kingdom of northern Lusitania, and the Principality of the Algarves, shall acknowledge H. C. M. the King of Spain as protector, and the Sovereigns of those countries shall never make peace nor war, without the consent of the Catholic King.

Art. VIII. If the provinces of Beira, Tras os Montes, and Portugueze Estremadura, which remain in deposit, should be restored at a general peace, to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad and other colonies which the English have taken from Spain and her allies, the new Sovereign of those provinces shall be subjected, with respect to H. C. M. the King of Spain, to the same conditions as the King of northern Lusitania and the Prince of the Algarves, and shall possess them on the same terms.

Art. IX. H. M. the King of Etruria, cedes in full property and sovereignty, the kingdom of Etruria, to H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy.

Art. X. When the definitive occupation of the provinces of Portugal shall be effectuated, the different princes who shall possess them, shall conjunctively appoint commissioners for fixing their natural limits.

Art. XI. H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, guarantees to H. C. M. the King of Spain, the possession of his states on the continent of Europe, situated to the south of the Pyrenees.

Art. XII. H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages to acknowledge H. C. M. the King of Spain, as *Emperor of the two Americas*, when all shall be ready, in order that H. M. may take that title, which may take place at the general peace, or, at the latest, three years hence.

Art. XIII. The high contracting powers will agree on the means of making an amicable and equal division of the islands, colonies, and other transmarine possessions of Portugal.

Art. XIV. The present treaty shall be kept secret; it shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Madrid, twenty days after the date of the signature, at the latest. Made at Fontainebleau, 27th October, 1807.

(Signed) DUROC.—E. IZQUIERDO.

We have approved, and hereby approve, of the preceding treaty, with all its articles, and each in particular. We declare it accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and we promise that it shall be inviolably maintained. In testimony of which we have given the present, signed by our hand, sealed with our imperial seal, at Fontainebleau, this 29th October, 1807.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
The Minister for Foreign Affairs,
(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.
By H. M. the Emperor, the Minister Secretary of State,
(Signed) H. B. MARET.

No. II.

Secret Convention relative to the preceding Treaty, and of the same date, 27th of October, 1807.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the Constitutions, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, having seen and examined the convention concluded, ratified, and signed at Fontainebleau, the 27th October, 1807, by the General of Division, Duroc, Grand Marshal of our Palace, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, &c. in virtue of the full powers with which we had invested him to that effect, with Don Eugenius Izquierdo de Rivera y Lezaun, Honorary Counsellor of State and of War, to H. C. M. the King of Spain, also authorized by the full powers of his sovereign, for the said convention, of which the following is the tenor:—

H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and H. C. M. the King of Spain, desirous of regulating what may respect the occupation and conquest of Portugal, according to the stipulations made by the treaty signed this day, have appointed, as follows:—H. M. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, the General of Division, Michael Duroc, Grand Marshal of his Palace, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour; and H. C. M. the King of Spain, Don Eugenius Izquierdo de Rivera y Lezaun, his Counsellor of State and of War, who, having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following:—

Art. I. A corps of imperial French troops, of twenty-five thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, will enter Spain: it will form a junction with a corps of Spanish troops, composed of eight thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and thirty pieces of cannon.

Art. II. At the same time a division of Spanish troops, of ten thousand men, shall take possession of the province of Entre Mino e Douro, and of the city of Oporto; and another division of six thousand men, composed similarly of Spanish troops, shall take possession of Alemtejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves.

Art. III. The French troops shall be fed and maintained by Spain, and their pay disbursed by France, during the whole of their passage in Spain.

Art. IV. From the moment that the combined troops shall have entered Portugal, the provinces of Beira, Tras os Montes and Portuguese Estremadura, (which are to remain in deposit,) shall be administered and governed by the general commanding the French troops, and the contributions which shall be levied on them, shall be for the profit of France. The provinces which will compose the kingdom of northern Lusitania, and the principality of the Algarves, shall be administered and governed by the generals commanding the Spanish divisions, who will take possession of them; and the contributions which shall be levied on them shall remain for the benefit of Spain.

Art. V. The centre corps shall be under the command of the general of the French troops, as also the Spanish troops which shall be united to it. However, if the King of Spain, or the Prince of Peace should find it convenient, or deem it necessary, the general commanding the French troops, and those same troops, shall be subjected to the orders of the King of Spain, or of the Prince of Peace.

Art. VI. Another corps of forty thousand French troops shall be collected at Bayonne, on the 20th November next, or previous to that time, and it shall be ready to march to Portugal passing through Spain, should the English send succours, and threaten to attack the first. Yet, this new body of troops shall not enter, until the two high contracting parties shall have agreed for that purpose.

Art. VII. The present convention shall be ratified, and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at the same time as those of the treaty of this day. Made at Fontainebleau, the 27th October, 1807.

(Signed) Duroc.—E. Izquierdo.

We have approved, and hereby approve, the preceding convention in all and each of its articles in particular. We declare it accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and we promise that it shall be inviolably maintained. In testimony of which, we have given the present, signed by our hand, countersigned and sealed with our imperial seal, at Fontainebleau, the 29th Oct. 1807.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
The Minister for Foreign Affairs,
(Signed) CHAMPAGNI.
By H. M. the Emperor, the Minister Secretary of State,
(Signed) H. B. MARET.

No. III.

Decree for the re-establishment of the Inquisition.

The glorious title of Catholic, which distinguishes us amongst all other christian princes, is owing to the perseverance of the Kings of Spain, who have not tolerated in their states, any other religion than the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman; this title imposes on me the duty of rendering myself worthy of it, by every means which Heaven has placed in my power. The late disturbances, and the war which during six years has afflicted all the provinces of the kingdom, the military occupation by foreign troops of different sects, almost all infected with sentiments of hatred against our religion, the disorders which have been the infallible results of it, and the little care which has been taken of the interests of our holy religion, during these unhappy times: all these motives combined, have given scope to the ill-disposed who no longer are restrained; dangerous principles have been introduced and taken root in our States, through the same means by which they have spread in other countries.

Desiring, therefore, to remedy so great an evil, and preserve amongst our subjects, the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which they have ever loved, and in which they have lived and wish to live, whether on account of the personal obligation of there being no other ordained to princes who should reign over them, according to the fundamental laws which I have promised and sworn to maintain, or because this religion is the most proper for preventing intestine dissentions amongst my people, and promoting the tranquility which they need, I have deemed it necessary, in the present circumstances, that the tribunal of the Holy Office shall resume the exercise of its jurisdiction.

Because learned and virtuous prelates, many respectable corporations and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have explained to me, that Spain owes to this tribunal the happiness of having been untainted, in the sixteenth century, with the errors which were the causes of so many evils amongst other nations, and that on the contrary, at that very period, ours cultivated the sciences with distinction, and produced a crowd of great men, celebrated for their learning and piety. It has been, besides represented to me, that the oppressor of Europe did not omit to employ, as a most efficacious means of introducing the corruption and discord which so much facilitated his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretence that the progress of knowledge would not admit of its further existence, and the pretended general and extraordinary Cortes, under the same pretext, and by favour of the Constitution which it had tumultuously decreed, also abolished the Holy Office, to the great regret of the whole nation.

From these causes, I have been urgently intreated to re-establish it in the exercise of all its functions; and, inclining to such just considerations, as well as to the desire expressed by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our forefathers has anticipated my orders, by hastening to recall spontaneously, the inferior Inquisitors of some provinces.

I have resolved that, for the present, the Supreme *council* of the Inquisition, and the other tribunals of the Holy Office, shall resume their functions, according to the concession made to them by the Sovereign Pontiffs, on the demands of my august predecessors, by the prelates of dioceses, and by the Kings who secure to them therein the full exercise; to maintain in his double jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, the laws existing in the year 1808, and those which on various occasions have been issued for preventing certain abuses; but, as independent of those ancient laws, it may be proper to add new ones on this subject, and my intention being to perfect this establishment, so as to render it eminently useful to my subjects, I require that as soon as the said supreme council of the Inquisition shall be assembled, two of its members in conjunction with two members of the council of Castile, each selected by me, shall examine the mode and means of procedure of the Holy Office in the processes, and relative to the inspection and prohibition of books; and, if they find that the interest of my subjects or the rights of substantial justice require any reform or change, they shall report it to me, and give me their reasons for it, in order that I may take the necessary and consequent measures.

(Signed.) I, THE KING.

Given at Madrid, the 21st of July, 1814.

No. IV.

The following extracts from the mode of procedure in the Holy Office, are amongst the papers printed and circulated at Madrid soon after the re-establishment of the Constitution, in 1820; and which, together with all the other laws relative to the sacred tribunal, remained in full force, till the period of its suppression. The document from which these articles are taken, is to be found at length in the second volume of Llorente's history.

Instruction by Don Francisco Valdes, Archbishop of Seville, issued on his own authority, without the approbation of the King or Cortes, and directed to be observed in all the tribunals of the Holy Office.

I. The Inquisitors can seize the culprit, immediately after his act of accusation is drawn out; and, it is only in case of differing in their opinions, that the Supreme Council is to be consulted.

II. Imprisonment is always to be accompanied by the sequestration of property; allowing merely the means of subsistence to the wife and children if they are not able to work.

III. The culprits are to be placed in distinct cells; and they are not to be allowed to see their fathers, wives, children, parents or relatives.

IV. The advocate and confessor must have an especial licence from the Holy Office to visit the culprits; and the former cannot enter without being accompanied by an Inquisitor.

V. The declarations of the prisoners are always to be taken on oath; they are to be questioned relative to their genealogy and parentage; also where, and to whom they have confessed.

VI. The greatest care is to be taken that the culprits shall not be informed of the state of their causes, nor is the motive of their arrest to be communicated, until the trial is completed.

VII. The Fiscal is to accuse them of heresy generally, even when their crimes have been of a different nature. He should always persist in the first, to prove the second, and be particular in ascertaining the mode of life previous to their entering the prison.

VIII. The Fiscal is always to conclude his accusation, by saying: *if the intention is not sufficiently proved, the question* (torture) *is to be applied to the prisoner.* The torment is to be presided by the Inquisitors and Ordinary,

IX. The summaries and ratifications are to be read to the culprit, omitting all those parts, which can enable him to know his accuser, and although the witness may have deposed in the first person, his testimony is to be read to the accused in the third person; as, *they saw, heard, or said he was concerned with such person*, &c. blanks are to be left occasionally, so as to give rise to the conjectures and doubts of the accused.

X. The infamy which results from crimes chastised by the sacred tribunal, will descend to the children of those who suffer.

XI. The qualifiers named by the Inquisitor-General, will censure all writings and propositions, and upon this censure is to be founded the sentence, which the Inquisitor-General will cause to be carried into execution.

Given at Seville, in June, 1561, by Don Francisco Valdes,
Inquisitor-General, and Archbishop of Seville.

SPANIARDS!

This was the Tribunal that acknowledged no superior, which passed sentence on Kings, and disobeyed the Pontiffs; which, in the obscurity of night, tore the husband from the side of his wife, the father from the arms of his children, and these from the society of their parents, never to see each other more; without allowing any means of proving their innocence! This is the office which they called *holy*, saying, was established for the honour and glory of God; though it lent itself to the caprice and blasphemy of voluptuousness and oppression: it is the same tribunal which condemned and executed two thousand five hundred ecclesiastics as *heretics* for not having voted in favour of Philip II. being crowned King of Portugal! Finally, such are the rules, under which it is estimated, that above five millions of human beings have been either tried, or condemned and executed!!!

No. V.

Proclamation issued by Elio, Captain-General of Valencia, previous to the Execution of the brave Colonel Vidal, and Twelve of his Companions; amongst whom was young Bertran de Lis.

Inhabitants of Valencia, and you brave Soldiers!

Beware of shewing any compassion for the scene which this day will offer to your astonished sight; but, on the contrary, reflect on the enormity of the crime which consigns these monsters to death, and to the shame of expiring on a scaffold. Their conspiracy had a no less object than the overthrow of the monarchy, the destruction of the laws, revenge, plunder, and other projects which would have caused rivers of blood to flow, They wished to subject the Spanish nation to an eternal disgrace by exposing it to Europe as the accomplice of their atrocious resolutions!

Providence, which watches over you, has employed inscrutable means for enabling government to punish the enemies of the throne, the laws and religion; it has empowered me to arrest and convict the thirteen monsters who you will see executed this morning. Inhabitants of Valencia! these traitors are not the only ones who are amongst you; they have accomplices and satellites dispersed through all classes in the nation.

Loyal inhabitants, and you, brave soldiers, who have been in all times models of fidelity to the King, and of submission to the laws of your ancestors; you, whose indignation is an evident proof of the hatred you have for these monsters, hasten to accuse them to me, and *I shall annihilate them all.* The advice I give you is necessary for your happiness and tranquility. So long as a traitor exists, you cannot have any repose. So long as the hateful principles of these wretches are not entirely eradicated, fathers, you will not have obedient children; husbands, you cannot have faithful wives; friendship can no longer eixst; confidence will no longer prevail in commerce; the laws will lose all their vigour, and the very recollection of the social virtues be effaced; we shall end by destroying each other; the son will murder his father and mother. If this picture terrifies and seems chimerical to you, look to France, and the history of the period in which we live will soon convince you of the truth of what I say. The principles which have destroyed that Monarchy, are the same as those which your enemies endeavoured to disseminate and with which they try to involve us in ruin.

But, fear nothing; God who protects our catholic country, has endowed it with the most brilliant virtues, and none shall succeed in alienating it from its duties towards the King and our holy religion. For the preservation of this religion, and the defence of the throne, a great number of commanders whose fidelity is undoubted, are to be found. Valencia contains many of them. Have confidence in your general, you will always find him at the head of all worthy subjects.

(Signed.) ELIO.

Valencia, 20th of January, 1819.

THE END.

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